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LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION
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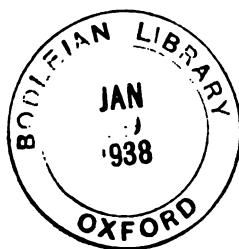
WITH
ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE,
AND
AUTHENTIC PAPERS NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY
T. H. LISTER, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

IN the publication of the Letters and Papers contained in this volume, the whole of each has not uniformly been given, but only such portions as relate to subjects interesting or important. The portions thus selected have been printed entire, without the suppression of any part of a connected statement of facts, or of a concomitant expression of opinion. Care has also been taken to adhere *literally* to the text of the originals, with this sole exception, that, where passages occur which were written in *cipher*, the interpretation alone has been given, such interpretation being indicated by *italics*. The practice of printing the cipher, with the interpretation over it, is supported by the example of the Thurloe State Papers, and other valuable

publications: but, a knowledge of the cipher which was employed is, perhaps, too dearly purchased by the obvious inconvenience of increasing the bulk of the work, and of disposing the interpreted portions in a manner irksome to the reader.

CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

LETTERS AND PAPERS.

	PAGE
I. <i>Henry Hyde</i> (father of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon) to his brother <i>Sir Nicholas Hyde</i> , Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. - June 14. 1631.	1
II. <i>Sir Thomas Aylesbury</i> to <i>Mr. Hyde</i> , on the intended marriage of Edward Hyde (son of the latter) to Sir Thomas Aylesbury's daughter. - July 14. 1632.	3
III. <i>Edward Hyde</i> (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) to <i>Sir</i> <i>Thomas Aylesbury</i> , on the recent death of his father, which occurred September 29. 1632. - No date.	4
IV. <i>Lord Fielding</i> to <i>Edward Hyde</i> , written in 1634. No date.	5
V. <i>Charles I.</i> to <i>Lord Goring</i> , ordering him to collect under his command the forces in the West under Berkeley and Grenville, for the relief of Taunton. March 3. 1645.	6
VI. <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> to <i>Lord Goring</i> . A letter of remonstrance. - - April 12. 1645.	8
VII. <i>The Lords of the Prince of Wales's Council</i> to <i>Charles I.</i> , entreating that Goring and his forces may not be withdrawn from the western counties. May 24. 1645.	10

	PAGE
VIII. <i>Sir Richard Grenville to Lord Colepepper</i> , complaining of the condition of the associated army, and stating what he requires. - May 28. 1645.	12
IX. <i>The Answer of the Prince of Wales to a Petition from the Clubmen</i> , presented at Wells, on the 2d of June, 1645. - - - - -	14
X. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Edward Nicholas</i> . Complains of Goring's conduct — wishes the King would come into the West. - June 25. 1645.	19
XI. <i>Lord Goring to Lord Colepepper</i> , protesting against Grenville's commission, as interfering with Lord Wentworth's claim to be next in command under Goring. - - - June 29. 1645.	22
XII. <i>Lord Goring to Lord Colepepper</i> , complaining of want of money, and of quarrels between Grenville and Berkeley. - - - July 18. 1645.	23
XIII. <i>Lord Goring to Lord Colepepper</i> , complaining of the prevalence of desertion. - - - July 28. 1645.	24
XIV. <i>Lord Colepepper to Lord Goring</i> , acknowledging intelligence of the diminution of his infantry — respecting ammunition. - - - July 28. 1645.	25
XV. <i>Lord Colepepper to the Lords of the Prince's Council</i> . Communicates the result of a conference with Goring — statement of difficulties — plans recommended by Goring. - - - September 28. 1645.	26
XVI. <i>Resolutions of the Prince's Council</i> , containing directions to Sir R. Grenville. - - - No date.	29
XVII. <i>Lord Goring to Lord Colepepper</i> , containing his demands. - - - September 29. 1645.	30
XVIII. <i>Lord Goring to Lord Colepepper</i> , complaining of Sir R. Grenville. - - - October 4. 1645.	32

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
XIX. <i>Sir John Berkeley</i> to <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> . Goring's difficulties — proposals from Goring to the Council. April 6. 1645.	33
XX. <i>Lord Goring</i> to <i>Lord Colepepper</i> , complaining of insubordination — requiring authority from the Prince to send orders to Sir R. Grenville. October 20. 1645.	34
XXI. <i>The Prince of Wales</i> to <i>Lord Goring</i> , informing him that Sir R. Grenville is directed to obey his orders. - - - October 23. 1645.	35
XXII. <i>Lord Capel</i> to <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> , concerning arrangements for provisions for the army. December 24. 1645.	36
XXIII. <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> . Imprisonment of Sir R. Grenville — conduct of J. Ashburnham. - - - December 12. 1646.	38
XXIV. <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> , on the policy of the Scotch. - - - January 1. 1647.	40
XXV. <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> to <i>Lord Colepepper</i> . Thanks for the contribution of materials for his history, and account of the progress of the work. January 8. 1647.	42
XXVI. <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> , respecting the conduct of Col. Smyth, who had established a mint under royal authority, and had coined base money. - - - February 24. 1647.	44
XXVII. <i>Sir Edward Hyde</i> to <i>Sir John Berkeley</i> . Situation of the King — propositions to the King for confirmation of all that had been done under the Parliament's great seal — apprehensions of Argyle. March 18. 1647.	47

	PAGE
XXVIII. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Edward Nicholas.</i> Jersey summoned by the Parliament — prospects of the King—remarks on the Cavaliers. May 10. 1647.	50
XXIX. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Hopton</i> (written from Oatlands), stating that the King is well satisfied with the conduct of Hyde and Hopton — state of parties. August 16. 1647.	53
XXX. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Toby Mathew</i> , com- plaining of the indifference of foreign potentates to the machinations of republicans in England. May 23. 1650.	54
XXXI. <i>Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde to Secre- tary Long</i> , on the murder of Ascham. June 7. 1650.	56
XXXIII. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Prince Rupert.</i> Senti- ments of the Spaniards — their fear of the English Parliament — entreats assistance for his wife and children. - - - October 19. 1650.	59
XXXIV. <i>Massonet to Mr. Long</i> , informing him of reports injurious to Sir E. Hyde. - - May 16. 1652.	62
XXXV. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne</i> , re- specting the sale of prizes at Brest. March 1. 1653.	65
XXXVI. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.</i> An official letter, containing instructions how to act with respect to the prize goods seized at Nantes. June 28. 1653.	66
XXXVII. <i>Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.</i> A private letter, accompanying the preceding, on the same subject. - - - Same date.	67
XXXVIII. <i>Mr. Long to Sir Richard Grenville</i> , enjoining caution in accusing Hyde, and recommending that the King be privately informed of the offences to be imputed. - - - July 28. 1653.	69

	PAGE
XXXIX. <i>Sir Richard Grenville to Mr. Long</i> , conveying the King's commands that he should communicate the names of Hyde's accusers. October 5. 1653.	70
XL. <i>Sir Richard Grenville to Mr. Long</i> , respecting their hopes of ruining Hyde's credit. October 22. 1653.	72
XLI. <i>Mr. Long to Charles II.</i> , accusing Sir E. Hyde of having spoken disrespectfully of the King. December 23. 1653.	73
XLII. <i>Mr. Long to Charles II.</i> , defending his conduct with respect to Sir E. Hyde, and complaining of the treatment he had received. - - No date.	74
XLIII. <i>Major Wood to the Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> . Meeting of Lambert's troops — "some cried for a free Parliament, and many for a King." February 3. 1660.	83
XLIV. <i>Mr. Samborne to the Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> . State of the fleet — the King is advised to come nearer to England. - February 24. 1660.	85
XLV. <i>Mr. Samborne to the Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , respecting Thurloe — Monk — Sir R. Willis's attempts to exculpate himself. - March 3. 1660.	87
XLVI. <i>Mr. Samborne to the Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> . State of the fleet — Monk's opposition to the remonstrance of his officers against the supreme rule of a single person. - - March 9. 1660.	89
XLVII. <i>Mr. Samborne to the Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , containing intelligence from England respecting Monk, the army, Montague, and Thurloe. March 16. 1660.	90
XLVIII. <i>Mr. Samborne to the Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , containing intelligence from the fleet, and respecting Monk, and the King's prospects. March 16. 1660.	91

	PAGE
XLIX. <i>Mr. Samborne</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , containing intelligence from England and Ireland, and respecting <i>Thurloe</i> . - March 23. 1660.	93
L. <i>Major Wood</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , warning him against <i>Lord Mordaunt</i> . - March 30. 1660.	95
LI. <i>Lady Mordaunt</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , as- suring him of <i>Lord Mordaunt's</i> friendship — com- plaining of the <i>Ashburnhams</i> and others. March 30. 1660.	96
LII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> to <i>Charles II.</i> , urging him to send letters in his own handwriting by <i>Barnard Grenville</i> . Probably written in April, 1660. No date.	98
LIII. <i>Lord Mordaunt</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , con- taining intelligence from England respecting machi- nations against <i>Hyde</i> — proceedings in Parliament — difficulties. - - May 4. 1660.	99
LIV. <i>General Montague</i> to <i>Charles II.</i> , assuring him of the loyalty of the fleet. - May 4. 1660.	104
LV. <i>Charles II.</i> to <i>General Monk</i> , announcing his re- solution to disembark at <i>Dover</i> , and replying to his recommendation of <i>General Penn</i> . - May, 1660.	106
LVI. <i>Marquis of Worcester</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> , entreating his favour, and offering to lend him <i>Wor-</i> <i>cester House</i> . - - June 9. 1660.	108
LVII. <i>Dr. Morley</i> , <i>Bishop of Worcester</i> , to <i>Sir John</i> <i>Lauder</i> , stating difficulties, and means adopted for agreement with the <i>Presbyterians</i> ; and quoting an opinion of the <i>Lord Chancellor's</i> . October 23. 1660.	110
LVIII. <i>Thomas Maynard</i> , British Consul at <i>Lisbon</i> , to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> . Depressed state of <i>Portugal</i> — <i>Tangiers</i> — <i>Ceylon</i> . - November 11. 1660.	112

	PAGE
LIX. <i>Sir Henry Bennet</i> to <i>Charles II.</i> , reporting the result of conferences with Don Louis de Haro, and the remonstrances of the Spanish government against assistance being granted by England to Portugal. December 8. 1660.	114
LX. <i>Sir Orlando Bridgeman</i> to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> , on the subject of suspected plots. December 11. 1660.	116
LXI. <i>Thomas Maynard</i> to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> . Joy of the Portuguese in the hope of the marriage of the Infanta to Charles II. — Taxation in Portugal. February $\frac{1}{2}$. 1661.	118
LXII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Hyde</i> to the <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> . Popularity and advantages of the intended alliance with the Infanta of Portugal — Threats of the Spanish Ambassador — Disavowal of intrigue with Bartett — Negotiations with France respecting mutual assistance in the event of internal troubles. April 8. 1661.	119
LXIII. The <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Affairs of Bourberg and Dunkirk — Private treaty for mutual aid — Proposed reunion and renewal of former treaties. - May 10. 1661.	124
LXIV. <i>Thomas Maynard</i> to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> . Joy in Portugal in the prospect of the Infanta becoming Queen of Great Britain. - May $\frac{1}{10}$. 1661.	128
LXV. The <i>Marquis of Argyle</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , entreating intercession for him with the King. Written between April 21. and May 27. 1661. - - - No date.	129

	PAGE
✓ LXVI. <i>Lord Massareene to the Duke of Ormond</i> , reminding him of the proposal that the product of the county of Meath should be granted to Lord Clarendon. - - - May 29. 1661.	131
✓ LXVII. The <i>Rev. James Sharp</i> (afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrew's) to <i>Sir Archibald Primrose</i> , Lord Register of Scotland. Discussion upon the retention of English garrisons in Scotland — his interview with the Lord Chancellor—Disposition of the Parliament. Written in June, 1661. - - - No date.	132
LXVIII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> (British Envoy at the Hague) to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , informing him of having arrived in time to prevent the conclusion of the treaty between Portugal and the States—Private interview with the Portuguese Ambassador. - - - June 7 th . 1661.	134
LXIX. <i>Articles proposed by the Portuguese Ambassador at the Hague</i> . A Translation sent by <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , enclosed in the letter of June 7 th . 1661.	137
LXX. <i>Thomas Maynard</i> to <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> . Receipt of the speeches of the King and Lord Chancellor — The Princess Catherine of Portugal. - - - June 17 th . 1661.	138
LXXI. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Objectionable nature of the proposed treaty between Portugal and the States — He obtains a promise from the Portuguese Ambassador that he will sign nothing underhand — Prince of Orange — De Witt—Disaffected English refugees in Holland. - - - June 17 th . 1661.	139

- PAGE
- LXXII. *Sir George Downing* to the *Lord Chancellor Clarendon*. He remonstrates with De Witt, the President of the States General, and the Portuguese Ambassador, against conferring without previous notice to him — Interview with the latter.
June 21.
July 1. 1661. 144
- LXXIII. *Sir George Downing* to the *Lord Chancellor Clarendon*. He suggests a truce between Portugal and the States, instead of the proposed treaty— tries to cement friendship between the Ambassadors of France and Portugal — recommends plans for drawing emigrants from Holland, and improving English commerce — hopes to seize excepted persons.
July 8. N. S. 1661. 148
- LXXIV. *Sir George Downing* to the *Lord Chancellor Clarendon*. Progress made by the Dutch East India Company — Project of a truce between Portugal and the States — Conference with De Witt respecting the Prince of Orange, and the seizing excepted persons.
July 15. 1661. 152
- LXXV. *Thomas Maynard* to *Sir Edward Nicholas*. The fleet under Lord Sandwich—The Princess Catherine.
July 1 $\frac{2}{3}$. 1661. 156
- LXXVI. *Sir George Downing* to the *Lord Chancellor Clarendon*. Interviews and remonstrance with the Portuguese Ambassador — Downing desires further instructions. - July 29. N. S. 1661. 157
- LXXVII. The *Lord Chancellor Clarendon* to *Sir George Downing*. Will not forbid the Portuguese Ambassador to make an advantageous treaty — but cannot consent to the Dutch being placed upon an equality with the English. - - July 26. 1661. 159

	PAGE
LXXVIII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Intrigues between De Witt and the Portuguese Ambassador — he wishes the States should be made apprehensive of a stricter alliance between England and France. - August 5. N. S. 1661.	160
LXXIX. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . The treaty between Portugal and the States is signed, with a separate article in favour of England — Complaints of the conduct of the Portuguese Ambassador. - August 12. N. S. 1661.	162
LXXX. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . Rejects the proposal that the King should insist on the claims of the Prince of Orange being granted — argues the desirableness of peace with the Dutch. - - - August 16. 1661.	166 .
LXXXI. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . Continuance of peace desirable — England ill prepared for war — The interests of the Prince of Orange will not be neglected. August 30. 1661.	169
LXXXII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . It will be best to finish the treaty with the Dutch upon the old footing, as left by Cromwell. September 6. 1661.	171
LXXXIII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . Can substantiate his charges against De Witt — Prince of Orange — Treaty with Sweden. October 25. 1661.	171
LXXXIV. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Comte D'Estrades</i> , entreating him to endeavour to preserve peace between the States and Portugal — The Spanish Ambassador. - - November 21. 1661.	173

	PAGE
LXXXV. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon to Sir George Downing</i> . Offers the mediation of England to prevent a war between the States and Portugal. November 22. 1661.	175
LXXXVI. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon to Sir George Downing</i> . Propositions of the Dutch Ambassador respecting the ships <i>Charles</i> and <i>Experience</i> — and his reply — Overture of marriage between the King of Portugal and Princess of Orange. December 13. 1661.	176
LXXXVII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon to Sir George Downing</i> . Is willing to avoid what was previously required, rather than Portugal shall be embroiled with the Dutch — fears lest De Witt should give some orders which may cause a war between England and Holland. - January 3. 1662.	178
LXXXVIII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . De Witt cannot embroil the States with England. - - January 20. N. S. 1662.	181
LXXXIX. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon to Sir George Downing</i> . Advices written in his language respecting France and the States. January 17. O. S. 1662.	183
XC. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . The Dutch are dissatisfied with the proposed treaty with France — The designs of Louis XIV. upon Flanders. - - February 10. N. S. 1662.	184
XCI. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon to Sir George Downing</i> . Advises him to communicate freely with the Portuguese Ambassador. February 7. O. S. 1662.	187

	PAGE
XCII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . Repeats the same injunctions — does not object to the expedient proposed by De Witt — is confident of the private friendship of France. February 14. 1662½.	188
XCIII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . Commissioners — Prospect of agreement between the English and Dutch East India Companies — Our merchants well treated in Spain. April 11. 1662.	190
XCIV. The <i>Earl of Sandwich</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Expressions of gratitude — Arrival of the Queen — Concerning the portion — Desires directions respecting it. - - - May 15. 1662.	192
XCV. <i>Lord Rutherford</i> (Governor of Dunkirk) to <i>Charles II.</i> Expensive operations at Dunkirk. May 1½. 1662.	194
XCVI. The <i>Earl of Sandwich</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . First meeting of Charles II. and his Queen at Portsmouth — Arrangements respecting the portion. - - - May 20. 1662.	195
XCVII. <i>Charles II.</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Written on the fifth day from his meeting with the Queen, expressive of satisfaction and good intentions. May 25. 1662.	197
XCVIII. <i>Sir Henry Bennet</i> to <i>Charles II.</i> , suggesting means for the increase of the King's authority, and the prevention of dangers which may arise out of the Act of Uniformity. - No date. Summer of 1662.	198

	PAGE
*XCIX. <i>Charles II.</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , threatening all who oppose his design of making Lady Castlemaine a lady of the bedchamber. No date.	202
C. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with De Witt — Altercations — Advises an agreement that neither State assist the enemies of the other — Importance of such agreement to the security of Dunkirk. - - June 27. O. S.	203
CI. <i>Louis XIV.</i> to the <i>Comte D'Estrades</i> . Alludes to Belling's secret mission — and intimates intention to send D'Estrades on some pretext to treat with Clarendon respecting Dunkirk. July 18. N. S. 1662.	206
CII. <i>Louis XIV.</i> to the <i>Comte D'Estrades</i> . Giving directions respecting his mission to England, and sending messages to Clarendon. July 19. N. S. 1662.	207
* CIII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Reports of conspiracies in Somersetshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire — The Queen and Lady Castlemaine — Belling's return. July 17. O. S. 1662.	208
CIV. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . Defeat of the bill for preventing the exportation of wool — Treaty between the States and Portugal — Message from the King to the Dutch Ambassadors. - - July 31. O. S. 1662.	210
CV. The <i>Duke of Albemarle</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Expenses of Dunkirk — Encloses an account of the Ordnance, and an estimate of the charge of Dunkirk and Mardike. August 1. O. S. 1662.	212

	PAGE
CVI. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , concerning the proposed treaty between England and the States — Debts of Holland — De Witt's position and designs — Affair of the two ships. August 15. O. S. 1662.	215
CVII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to <i>Sir George Downing</i> . Conference with the Dutch and Portuguese Ambassadors. - September 5. O. S. 1662.	219
— CVIII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> , concerning Lady Castlemaine — the Queen — the King — Dunkirk. September 9. O. S. 1662.	221
CIX. The <i>Earl of Orrery</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , concerning the disposal of the money granted to Lord Clarendon. - September 17. 1662.	222
CX. <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Means taken to induce him to resign. October 7. 1662.	223
CXI. <i>Sir Edward Nicholas</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . More on the subject of his resignation. October 11. 1662.	224
CXII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Investment of money — Explanatory Bill — Dunkirk — Confidential communication respecting his credit at court. - - October 25. 1662.	225
— CXIII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . The appointment of Bennet in the place of Nicholas. - - November 1. 1662.	228
CXIV. <i>Sir George Carteret</i> to <i>Charles II.</i> Transport of the money received for Dunkirk. November 1 st . 1662.	229

CONTENTS.

xix

	PAGE
CXV. <i>Sir Robert Bindlos</i> to the <i>Earl of Derby</i> . Examination of a suspected conspirator. December 8. 1662.	230
CXVI. <i>Sir Henry Bennet</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Conduct of Parliamentary business — states that Lord Clarendon approved of the Declaration. January 13. 1663.	231
CXVII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . His communications with Bennet respecting the Declaration. - January 31. 1663.	233
CXVIII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Advice respecting the Irish Parliament — Ormond's vindication of himself — the Bill of Settlement. - - February 7. 1663.	234
— CXIX. <i>Lord Cornbury</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Writes in consequence of his father's inability through illness — The King is resolved to protect the Commissioners against the Irish Parliament. - February 21. 1663.	238
CXX. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . His illness — Instructions respecting the Irish Parliament — The Commissioners and the Council. - - - February 28. 1663.	239
CXXI. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Confidential communication respecting a favourable change in the King's conduct towards him. March 21. 1663.	243
— CXXII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Writes despondingly of his own position, and complains of Bennet and the King. April 11. 1663.	244

	PAGE
CXXIII. <i>J. Talbot to Lord Herbert.</i> Lord Bristol's charges against Lord Clarendon. - July 11. 1663.	245
CXXIV. The <i>Earl of Southampton</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , about the assessment of the Lords. September 5. 1663.	248
CXXV. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Manœuvres of the Dutch to exclude the English from colonial trade — He recommends a menacing tone — Spain — Conferences with De Witt — Piedmont. - - - September 18. 1663.	249
CXXVI. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with De Witt — Difficulties of the Dutch respecting the choice of an Ambassador to England — Present for the Commissioners — Fort at Cape Corso belonging to Denmark. September 25. 1663.	254
CXXVII. <i>Charles II. to Sir George Downing.</i> Instructions respecting demand of reparation for injuries committed by the Dutch East India Company. October 30. 1663.	256
CXXVIII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with the Danish Resident at the Hague. - - - November 6. 1663.	258
CXXIX. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Alarm of the Dutch at the naval and commercial proceedings of the French — Excepted persons. - - - November 20. 1663.	261
CXXX. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Account of a conference with the Deputies of the Estates General respecting aggressions of the Dutch in Guinea and the East Indies. December 18. 1663.	263

	PAGE
CXXXI. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Zealand — The Bishop of Munster.</i> January 1. 1664.	271
CXXXII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Conference with De Witt — Bishop of Munster.</i> - - January 8. 1664.	272
CXXXIII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. D'Estrades' declaration with respect to Flanders — Intended letter of the Estates General about New Netherlands.</i> - January 15. 1664.	275
CXXXIV. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Sweden — Denmark — Bishop of Munster — France.</i> - - February 12. 1664.	276
CXXXV. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Account of a conference with the Deputies of the Estates General respecting the ships Charles and James.</i> - February 12. 1664.	279
CXXXVI. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. The Estates of Zealand and the Duke of York — Conference with De Witt — Poleron.</i> February 18. 1664.	288
CXXXVII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. De Ruyter's fleet — French naval and commercial proceedings.</i> - February 26. 1664.	291
CXXXVIII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Account of a conference with the Deputies of the Estates General respecting the ships Hopewell and Leopard.</i> - March 18. 1664.	292
CXXXIX. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Discourse with De Witt about Algiers — Poleron — proposes retaliation on the trade of Zealand.</i> - - March 18. 1664.	298

	PAGE
CXL. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Bishop of Munster — Reparation to the Duke of York — De Ruyter's fleet — Zealand. March 25. 1664.	301
CXLI. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Bishop of Munster — De Ruyter — Policy of De Witt. - - April 18. 1664.	304
CXLII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Policy of the Dutch — Plague at Amsterdam — French commercial enterprise — Zealand — Bishop of Munster. - - April 22. 1664.	307
CXLIII. <i>General Lambert</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , expressing gratitude for obligations. April 27. (probably 1664.)	310
CXLIV. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Rencontre and quarrel between the Prince of Orange and D'Estrade. April 29. 1664.	312
CXLV. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Bishop of Munster — Conference with De Witt — further conference. - May 6. 1664.	315
CXLVI. <i>Lord Hollis</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Conduct of Louis XIV. towards him, and other foreign ministers. May $\frac{1}{2}$. 1664.	321
CXLVII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Opinions of the Dutch respecting the demands of England — Preparations for war. May 13. 1664.	322
CXLVIII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with the Deputies of the Estates General. - - May 20. 1664.	324

	PAGE
CXLIX. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Proposals for an adjustment — Interview with De Groot. - - May 20. 1664.	329
CL. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Proceedings of De Ruyter — Plague at Amsterdam — Interview with De Witt. July 29. 1664.	331
CLI. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Tidings of the Dutch East India fleet — Plague at Amsterdam. - August 9. 1664.	333
CLII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with the Deputies respecting the list of damages. - - August 16. 1664.	334
CLIII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Further transactions with the Deputies. August 26. 1664.	335
CLIV. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Exertions of the Dutch to fit out their fleet — Plague. - - September 2. 1664.	338
CLV. <i>Sir Robert Hyde</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , respecting Clarendon Park — tenants — timber. September 5. 1664.	340
CLVI. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with De Witt — Intentions respecting Guinea — Regulation of commerce — Speculations respecting the movements of De Ruyter. September 9. 1664.	343
CLVII. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Apprehensions of the Dutch that England is in earnest. - - October 12. 1664.	345

	PAGE
CLVIII. <i>The Lord Chancellor Clarendon to Sir George Downing.</i> War is almost inevitable — The taking of Cape de Verte by Holmes was without authority or justice. - - - October 28. 1664.	346
CLIX. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Conference with De Witt — Regulations for commerce — Satisfaction for damages — De Ruyter — New Netherland. - November 4. 1664.	348
CLX. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Van Beuningen's mission — Hopes of the Dutch. - - - November 25. 1664.	352
CLXI. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Resolution respecting an order to De Ruyter to attack the English colonies in America — Means of counteracting this attack — Various suggestions. - - - December 6. 1664.	352
CLXII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Information given by the Princess Dowager. - - - December 23. 1664.	357
CLXIII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Effects of De Ruyter's success in Guinea — Conversation with the Swedish and Danish Ministers. - - - December 29. 1664.	358
CLXIV. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Proceedings of the Dutch respecting prizes — Intelligence from Van Beuningen. February 14. 1665.	360
CLXV. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> D'Estrades' intended mission to England — The Danish Minister — The Dutch fleet. March 24. 1665.	362

	PAGE
CLXVI. <i>The Lord Chancellor Clarendon to the Honorable Henry Coventry.</i> Willingness to advance money to Sweden — approval of his conduct. March 24. 1665.	364
CLXVII. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Unable to state any result of his negotiations — difficulties — Lubeck. - March 25. 1665.	365
CLXVIII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> The Dutch ships stopped by France — naval preparations — Opdam's instructions. March 31. 1665.	370
CLXIX. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Naval intelligence. - April 7. 1665.	372
CLXX. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Movements of the Dutch fleet. April 11. 1665.	373
CLXXI. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Letter from Valkenberg, alleging cruelties exercised by the English on the Dutch in Guinea — Placards releasing seamen from contracts to merchants — Naval preparations. April 14. 1665.	374
CLXXII. <i>The Honorable Henry Coventry to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Difficulties in negotiation with Sweden — Relations with Denmark. April 19. 1665.	376
CLXXIII. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> The Swedish Ambassador's audience from the States General — D'Estrades. April 28. 1665.	378
CLXXIV. <i>Sir George Downing to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.</i> Language of the Dutch respecting the late sea fight — Losses of the Dutch — Consequences of the action. - June 7. 1665.	379

	PAGE
CLXXV. <i>Sir George Downing</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . De Witt will be president of the council of war — Various intelligence from Holland and Zealand — English malcontents in Holland.	
June 23. 1665.	385
CLXXVI. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Secret agreement with the King of Denmark for the seizure of the Dutch fleet at Bergen. - July 22. 1665.	389
CLXXVII. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Further account of the proposed plan of operations.	
July 25. 1665.	390
CLXXVIII. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Arrival of the Dutch fleet at Bergen. August 6. 1665.	391
CLXXIX. <i>Lord Hollis</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Coolness of the King of France — Unfavourable change.	
August $\frac{1}{2}$. 1665.	392
CLXXX. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . The affair at Bergen. - - August 15. 1665.	393
CLXXXI. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Conference with the King of Denmark on the business of Bergen. - - - August 19. 1665.	394
CLXXXII. The Honorable <i>Henry Coventry</i> to <i>Sir William Morrice</i> . Various intelligence—Disposition of Sweden.	
August 23. 1665.	396
CLXXXIII. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Communication with Commissioners respecting the affair of Bergen — Excuses. - August 26. 1665.	398
CLXXXIV. The Honorable <i>Henry Coventry</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Tidings of the Dutch fleet after leaving Bergen — Projected treaty.	
September 13. 1665.	399

	PAGE
CLXXXV. The Honorable <i>Henry Coventry</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Letters of the Dutch Ministers at Stockholm, Paris, and Copenhagen—Double dealing of the Danes—Hopes of the French and Dutch from risings in England, Scotland, and Ireland—Hostile projects. - September 20. 1665.	401
CLXXXVI. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Conversation with the King of Denmark on the affair of Bergen, and its consequences. - October 6. 1665.	405
CLXXXVII. <i>Lord Hollis</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . French hostility to English trade. - October $\frac{1}{2}$. 1665.	409
CLXXXVIII. <i>Lord Hollis</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Insults received from the French Court, and denial of reparation. - - - October $\frac{1}{2}$. 1665.	411
CLXXXIX. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Final settlement of treaty. - - - October 15. 1665.	413
CXC. <i>Lord Hollis</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . France unprepared for war. - - - October $\frac{1}{2}$. 1665.	413
CXCI. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . The treaty signed—advantages and evils. October 21. 1665.	415
CXCII. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Proposed mission of Zestedt, and its objects. October 28. 1665.	416
CXCIII. The Honorable <i>Henry Coventry</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Arrival of Clifford—Treaty with Denmark—Negotiations with Sweden. November 8. 1665.	417
CXCIV. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Fears respecting Sweden. - - - December 19. 1665.	420
CXCV. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . His opinion that Sweden cannot fairly claim the same terms as Denmark. - - - December 23. 1665.	420

	PAGE
CXCVI. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the Honorable <i>Henry Coventry</i> . His opinion respecting a proposed alliance between England, Sweden, and Spain — The treaty with Denmark — Views of the English government respecting the Dutch. December, 1665.	421
CXCVII. The Honorable <i>Henry Coventry</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with the Commissioners. - - - February 14. 1666.	425
CXCVIII. The Honorable <i>Henry Coventry</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . Proceedings of the new French Ambassador — Denmark. - - - February 28. 1666.	427
CXCIX. <i>Sir Gilbert Talbot</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Heads of the secret articles in the treaty between Denmark and the Dutch. March 3. 1666.	428
CC. <i>Lord Hollis</i> to <i>Lord Arlington</i> . His conference with De Lionne and Van Beuningen at the Queen Mother's. - - - April $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁸ . 1666.	431
CCI. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Attempts to borrow in the City — Approval of his conduct in Ireland. - June 18. 1666.	434
CCII. The <i>Earl of Sandwich</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Difficulties in Spain respecting the acknowledgment of the King of Portugal. September 1 ¹ . 1666.	436
CCIII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Removal from Worcester House in consequence of the Fire of London. - - - No date.	440
CCIV. The <i>Earl of Bristol</i> to <i>Charles II.</i> , supplicating forgiveness. - - - October 14. 1666.	441

	PAGE
CCV. Instructions addressed to the Earl of St. Albans, about to be appointed Ambassador to the Court of France. - - January. 1667.	443
CCVI. <i>Thomas Thynne</i> , Esq. (Envoy at Stockholm), to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Holland is inclinable to peace. - - February 13. 1667.	445
CCVII. <i>Thomas Thynne</i> , Esq., to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Various intelligence from Sweden. February 27. 1667.	446
CCVIII. <i>Thomas Thynne</i> , Esq., to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Speculations respecting France. March 5. 1667.	447
CCIX. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Suggestions respecting Ireland. March 8. 1667.	448
CCX. The <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , respecting the expected treaty at Breda. March 26. 1667.	450
CCXI. The <i>Earl of Orrery</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> , respecting the completion and expense of Clarendon House. - - March 22. 1667.	452
CCXII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> , respecting negotiations with France and Holland. - - March 25. 1667. O. S.	453
CCXIII. The <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Account of an interview with Louis XIV.—Poleron. - - April 13. 1667. N. S.	455
CCXIV. The <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Van Beuningen's interview with De Lionne. - - April 20. 1667. N. S.	459

	PAGE
CCXV. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> . Advises him to remove the jealousy of the French respecting Spain. April 11. 1667. O. S.	460
CCXVI. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> . Poleron — Treaty at Breda. April 20. 1667. O. S.	461
CCXVII. The <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> to the <i>Earl of St. Albans</i> . Poleron — The treaty. April 29. 1667. O. S.	462
CCXVIII. <i>Thomas Thynne</i> , Esq., to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conference with the Chancellor of Sweden. - - May 1. 1667.	464
CCXIX. The <i>Earl of Sandwich</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . Conclusion of the treaty with Spain. May $\frac{1}{2}$. 1667. - - - - -	465
CCXX. <i>Lord Hollis</i> to the <i>Lord Chancellor Clarendon</i> . He fears disapproval in England of the treaty at Breda. - - - July $\frac{1}{2}$. 1667.	466
— CCXXI. <i>Lord Arlington</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . The Lord Chancellor's proposed retirement from office. August 27. 1667.	468
CCXXII. The <i>Earl of Anglesey</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . The Lord Chancellor's expected retirement from office. - - August 27. 1667.	469
.. CCXXIII. <i>Lord Arlington</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . More respecting Lord Clarendon quitting office. August 31. 1667.	470
... CCXXIV. <i>Lord Arlington</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Informs him that the King will write to him respecting Lord Clarendon. - September 14. 1667.	470

	PAGE
— CCXXV. <i>Lord Arlington</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Dis- cussions in Parliament respecting Lord Clarendon. November 26. 1667.	472
CCXXVI. <i>Lord Arlington</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Pro- ceedings in the Houses of Lords and Commons re- specting Lord Clarendon. - November 28. 1667.	473
CCXXVII. <i>Sir Alan Broderick</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Differences between the two Houses respecting Lord Clarendon. - November 30. 1667.	474
-- CCXXVIII. <i>Lord Arlington</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> , respecting Lord Clarendon's quitting the kingdom. December 7. 1667.	475
CCXXIX. The <i>Earl of Anglesey</i> to the <i>Duke of Ormond</i> . Parliamentary proceedings. - December 9. 1667.	476
— CCXXX. The <i>Earl of Clarendon</i> to <i>Lord Cornbury</i> , re- specting private and pecuniary affairs. June 9. 1671.	478
--- CCXXXI. The <i>Earl of Clarendon</i> to <i>Lord Cornbury</i> . Private affairs — the King and Duke of York — Presbyterians. - June 10. 1671.	481
CCXXXII. The <i>Earl of Clarendon</i> to <i>Lord Lockhart</i> . Acknowledgment for kindness. - April 19. 1674.	484
— CCXXXIII. The <i>Earl of Clarendon</i> to <i>Lady Carteret</i> . Pecuniary affairs. - July 5. 1674.	485
CCXXXIV. The <i>Earl of Clarendon</i> to <i>Lady Carteret</i> . The same subject. - September 6. 1674.	487
CCXXXV. The <i>Abbé Montagu</i> to <i>Lord Cornbury</i> , en- closing a letter from Le Tellier respecting the droit d'aubaine. - December 20. 1674. N. S.	488
CCXXXVI. Communications which passed between Charles II. and the Lord Chancellor at various times from the Restoration to the year 1667. - -	489
CCXXXVII. General Monk's proposals. - -	500
CCXXXVIII. Declaration of Charles II. respecting his intended marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. -	503

	PAGE
CCXXXIX. Account of the revenue. - - -	504
CCXL. Expenses of the navy. - - -	509
CCXLI. Extracts from a paper entitled "The Establishment of the Garrison of Dunkirk." - -	510
CCXLII. Warrant and directions for the réceipt of money due by the sale of Dunkirk. - - -	511
CCXLIII. Memorial from Charles II. to the King of France respecting Portugal. January, 1663. -	513
CCXLIV. "The true state of the case betweene the East India Com ^{rs} of y ^e Netherlands, and S ^r W ^m Courten, S ^r Paull Pindar, and their C ^{rs} , excepted from y ^e general abolition of injuries in the 15 ^e article of the late treaty at Whitehall, betweene the King and y ^e States Gen ^l , Sept. the 4 ^e , 1662." - -	518
CCXLV. Grant to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon of a half year's rent due from soldiers and adventurers in the counties of East and West Meath, Wexford, and Kilkenny. - - -	522
CCXLVI. Grant to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon of the manors of Langley, etc., in the county of Oxford. -	524
CCXLVII. Grant to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon of lands in Westminster. - - -	525
CCXLVIII. Grant to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon of lands in Lambeth. - - -	526
CCXLIX. Grant to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon of the office of Ranger, etc., of Woodstock, etc. - -	527
CCL. King's letter for raising money by loan at the time of invasion by the Dutch. - - -	528
CCLI. Heads of the charges brought against Lord Clarendon in the House of Commons, on the 26th day of October, 1667. - - -	530
CCLII. Extracts from the narrative of Sir Philip Monckton. - - -	532
CCLIII. A schedule of Lord Clarendon's debts. -	535

LETTERS AND PAPERS.

I.



MR. HYDE¹ to SIR NICHOLAS HYDE.²

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

S^r,

I SHALL be glad to heare of a good match for your daughter, God blesse ytt: you are not to learne how vague a great estate is without that. I would you could healpe me to some fitt now your owne worke is done: you shall doe well now to looke about also for your soñe Arthur. A discreate woman setts vpp a house, butt a foole pulls ytt downe with her owne hands: wealth is the least part of a woman, though ytt be in hiest estimation. He came kyndly to visitt me not long synce. I was glad to pceave, he liked well the countrey life. I found by him he hath noe mynde to London, and that out of a vertuous feare of

¹ Henry Hyde, (father of Edward, afterwards Earl of Clarendon,) third son of Lawrence Hyde of West Hatch, co. Wilts, Esq., married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Langford of Trowbridge, co. Wilts, Esq.; died Sept. 29. 1632, aged 69. Four letters from Henry Hyde to his brother Nicholas are extant in the Bodleian Library. They are unimportant and uninteresting, containing many obscure allusions, and relating entirely to private affairs. The present letter, which is least uninteresting of the four, is given as a specimen of the writer's familiar epistolary style.

² Sir Nicholas Hyde, youngest son of Lawrence Hyde of West Hatch, and uncle of Edward Hyde, became Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, January 31. 1626. Died August 26. 1631.

his owne facility to be leade by the vanities of his old acquaintance ther, which are many, and many of them not of the best. I know your care is great of him, and your desyre that he should fall of¹ noe more: synce he desyreth to avoyde his old companions there, I would not have you a meanes to bring him amonge them. He is of an active disposition, and not bookish: ytt is a very hard matter, even for a stayd man in that case to spend his tyme well in London, especyally as these tymes are.

I am glad to heare my sister is well. Coñmend me to her, and tell her I would wish her to bydd farewell to phisick, especyally synce her 3 good doctors advise her soe. Yf you wyll come noe neerer to me, I wyll visitt you at Harding yf I be able this Soñmer, provided you can lodge me without thrusting your honest gentlemen my fellowes into the coach. Peradventure your errant was yll delivered of the toppe of your kynne. Every brother you have of Sargeants Inne is not as true a brother as me selfe. This message differeth from the nature of the countrey whence you come. You see my paper is done. I am in a matter I could enlarge else. God send you health and coñmend me to your selfe and my brother Laurence², and my ladye when you see her; my wyfe alsoe salutes you all. And even soe he have you ever in his tuition. Purton this 14 of June, 1631.

Your assured loving brother,

HENRY HYDE.

To my Right worthy and loving Brother S^r
Nicholas Hyde, knight, Lo. Cheyfe Justice of
Englād, att his chamber at Sargeants Inn in
Fleete Streete, London. These.

¹ off.

² Sir Lawrence Hyde, second son of Lawrence Hyde of West Hatch, and uncle of Edward Hyde. He was a lawyer of eminence, and attorney-general to Queen Anne, consort of James I.

II.

SIR THOMAS AYLESBURY¹ to MR. HYDE.[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

SIR,

I RECEAVED a kind lre² from you of the 19 of June expressing the affeccon of a loving father to his sonne. But long before I heard from you, I was thoroughly confirmed in the opinion of his worth, w^{ch} will make him³ welcome to any man that hath reason and goodnesse. Thus much I might have said ere this tyme, but not soe fully as now, having made choyce of each other for better for worse, and given to him (in pledg of my confidence) a childe that none could have had from me but a good man. Such a' one I esteeme him, and that you must be such a' one too, because he came from you. It should seeme that neither of us hath been over covetous, w^{ch} gives assurance of the better successe. What they have, is with Gods blessinge and ours, w^{ch} will arise to happines though not to excesse, and that estate I have ever thought the best, that wee may never forgett the giver of all. Yf wee have erred in hast, yo' sonnes desires must excuse it; for I would have deferred it to the end of September; but he urged some reasons for despatch w^{ch} I yealded vnto, as partly proceeding from yo'self. They are now both contented, and God blesse them. My wiffe sayes

¹ Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart. father of Frances, second wife of Edward Hyde, had been secretary to George Duke of Buckingham, and was afterwards through his influence made Master of Requests and Master of the Mint, which office he retained till 1642. Died at Breda in 1657, aged 81.

² letter.

³ Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon), then about to be married to Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury.

Amen, wth all her heart, and desires to be remembered to her good brother and sister. I ioyne with her, referring our welfare to Gods goodness. And soe rest

Your assured loving brother,

THO^s AYLESBURY.

July 14. 1682.

To my assured loving brother, M^r. Henry Hyde,
at Pyrton. These.

III.¹

EDWARD HYDE to SIR THO^s. AYLESBURY.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

S^r,

WEE all heare humbly thanke you for youre sense of our sufferings, which (however we were fortifyed against the occasion by long feares and expectaçon) both in the suddennesse and the circumstances could not but be very terrible. You cannot imagyne my tarryance heare can have any thinge of delight, beinge much besyde my purpose or convenience, and truly my mother is willing to prefere ether before her owne occasions. Since my father's death shee hath not been able to stirr from her bed, a general lamenesse having seised her, so that I would gladly see her inclined to a recovery before my remove, since I perceive she taketh much comforte both in my wife and aunt.

Somewhat there is too that concerns my care to see done, though never man ordered his wardrobe more exactly for a journey than my father did his estate for death — no possible scruple to aryse, no party not fully satisfyed. We have none of us yet styrrd out of these doors, and the weeke following this (God willinge) we are at Cran-

¹ Without date; — appears to have been written not long after the death of the father of Edward Hyde, which occurred Sept. 29. 1632.

bourne, which I hope will be to your satisfaction, however our impatiency is greate till then.

My wife at her returne will give you a goode accounte of our ayer in her health, and my aunt hath knowne no other melancholique than we must all suffer while we are absent from you. We all present ourselves humbly to you, and wee both begg blessings upon you, and I thank you for your care and affection towards

Your most aff.

E. H.

IV.

LORD FIELDING ¹ to EDWARD HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*

S^r,

YOUR presence is all this time so necessary as I have scarce time or patience to write to you, least I should prolong your comming up. The King has taken an unexpected resolution in our unhappy businesse, to press Mr. Jermain² by the Lords to marriage, and vpon his refusal to banish him indefinitely during his owne pleasure, without anie mention att all of the losse of his place. If you make haste wee may presse something for the better satisfaction of my Ant Villiers³, who is a most afflicted woman, and will be very ill satisfi'd with this harsh proceeding, w^{ch} amases me, that a businesse, that concerns the honor of a whole family, should be thus carrid without reason, or

¹ Basil Lord Fielding, eldest son of the first Earl of Denbigh, who married Mary daughter of Sir Edward Villiers.

² Henry Jermy, the favourite of Henrietta Maria, to whom, after the death of Charles I. he was supposed to have been privately married; created Earl of St. Alban's in 1660; employed after the Restoration as ambassador to the court of France. Died 1683.

³ Daughter of Sir Edward Villiers by Barbara daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lydiard Tregose, co. Cornwall; which Barbara was sister of Lady Ayliffe, the mother of Edward Hyde's first wife.

common civility; for wee, whom it concerns most, wear the last that had anie knowledge of it, w^{ch} to augment our discontent was suggested vnto vs by our enemies, whom I cannot consider without scorne, and commiseration of their estates, that shall have anie thing to do with such vnworthy persons. This is all I will say to you at this time, which I am sure will be forcible enough to make you hasten into these parts, where you shall not finde anie more truly yours than

Your most affectionate friend, and servant,

B. FILDING.

Roehampton,
Sept. 2d.¹

Endorsed "My Lord Feeldinge about M^r.²
Villiers."

V.³

CHARLES I. to LORD GORING.

[British Museum. *Ayscough MSS.* 1519.]

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved, wee greete you well, and we have seen the account which you have given our ne-

¹ The year, which is omitted, must have been 1634.

² Few readers of Shakspeare can be ignorant that the designation "Mrs." was formerly prefixed to the names of unmarried women. The word "Miss" is of more recent adoption in this sense, and was then a term of reproach.

³ This letter is the "order from Oxford" mentioned by Lord Clarendon in the following passage, which will explain the circumstances to which the letter alludes. "Whilst the Lord Goring lay fruitlessly in those parts," (i. e. Hampshire and Wiltshire) "a party of horse and dragoons under the command of Vandruske, a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of Taunton, then blocked up by Col. Windham, and reduced to some straits; and accordingly effected it. About the same time Sir Walter Hastings, governor of Portland, seconded by Sir Lewis Dives (who had the command of Dorsetshire as Col.-general), had surprised Weymouth and possessed the forts, and the upper town, the rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower town, divided from the other by an arm of the sea, and of no considerable strength; so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those forces which had relieved Taunton, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of Weymouth,

phew Rupert of the unfortunate loss of Weymouth, and as we must expect disasters in war, so we hope you will not be disheartened by them from pursuing our service as vigorously as if you had had better success. Upon the whole matter our expresse will and pleasure is that you use all possible diligence to conioyne unto you all the forces you can make in those parts, as well those of Somersetshire as S^r. John Barclay's¹, and those which we have commanded to march up unto you from Sir Richard Greenville², and that

and for the sooner expediting the business there, the Lord Goring, now pretending that his friends in Sussex and Kent were not ready for him, was by order from Oxford, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of Weymouth and Taunton would be speedily effected. Thereupon the lord Hopton, whose right it was to command in those counties as field marshal of the west, being sent down by the King to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of Taunton, was by special order recalled to Bristol, lest there might be dispute of command between him and the lord Goring; the one being general of the ordnance, the other general of the horse; but the lord Hopton was likewise field marshal of the west, in which the lord Goring had no commission to command." Hist. Reb. v. 139.

¹ Sir John Berkeley (afterwards created Lord Berkeley) was of a good family in the west of England,—before the civil war was sent by Charles I. as envoy to the court of Sweden,—afterwards held the place of gentleman sewer in the Queen's household,—applied himself to military service on the commencement of troubles, and in 1645 was among those appointed to command in the west,—was afterwards in attendance on Charles I., and accompanied him in his flight to the Isle of Wight; and after the death of Charles I. he was made governor to the Duke of York.—After the Restoration obtained the office of President of Connaught, and in 1670 was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—He was afterwards sent ambassador to France, and Plenipotentiary to Nimeguen.—Lord Clarendon expresses an unfavourable opinion of him. Burnet says "He was a man bold and enterprising, in whom it appeared with how little true judgment courts distribute favours and honours. He had a positive way of undertaking and determining in every thing, and looked fierce and big, and was a very weak man, and corrupt without shame and decency." Burnet's Own Times, i. 464. The speaker Onslow adds in a note, "I have read some letters of his, which show him to be a man of no mean parts, though of very loose principles."

² Sir Richard Grenville was born 1600,—entered early into military life,—served first in Germany and the Low Countries,—afterwards in the expedition against Cadiz under Lord Wimbledon,—was knighted by Buckingham in 1627, before the expedition to the Isle of Rhé, in which he served,—was created a baronet in 1630.—In January, 1642, received a commission to raise a troop of horse, and was appointed major in Lord Leicester's regiment,—rose in the army, and commanded in the west. The time and place of his death is unknown. He is buried at Ghent, where is his monument with this inscription: "Sir Richard Grenville the King's General in the West."

you apply your selfe wholly to the clearing of those parts of the rebels forces under Vandross, whilst the distraction among the rebels in these may possibly give you the leasure before their powring downe more forces upon you, which are not likely to be suddenly so great but that if you be once comyned with Berkley and Greenville you may be strong enough to encounter them. We have appoynted Digby to acquaint you more at large with the reasons of this command. Given March the third, 1644.¹

VL

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO LORD GORING.²

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

WELL you generalls are a strange kind of people; if I would have undertaken to know any mans thoughts, I should have sworne that you had wished the advice was

¹ 1644.

² The circumstances which called forth this letter are described in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 146—148. The Prince of Wales, with the privy and advice of Prince Rupert, had on the 11th of April written to Lord Goring, recommending that he should send his horse and dragoons into Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, and his foot and artillery to Taunton; the result of which was, "a short sullen letter from the Lord Goring to the Prince, 'that he had, according to his command, sent the foot and cannon 'to Taunton, and the horse to the other places; and that since there was 'now nothing for him to do, he was gone to Bath to intend his health: 'when he complained privately 'that his forces were taken from him at a 'time when he meant to pursue Waller, and could utterly defeat him,' and much inveighed against the Prince's council for sending orders to him 'so prejudicial to the King's service: whereas it was only an opinion and not 'orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which 'he was desired to return his present judgment, being within half a day's 'journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in person, or 'have presented his advices to him, if what was then offered seemed not 'convenient.'" Hyde's remonstrance was not ineffectual; "for," pursues the historian, "after some days frolickly spent at Bath, he returned to his 'former temper; and waiting on the Prince at Bristol, was contented to be 'told 'that he had been more apprehensive of discourtesies than he had 'cause; and so all misunderstandings seemed to be fairly made up."

sent y^a. Looke over y^r owne designe at Wells, and remember our discources heere, and tell mee why this direction, or rather opinion, you have received is not agreeable to what was then thought necessary. I assure you I find all y^r friends heere much troubled, that not approving the advice frō hence, y^a chose not rather to return y^r counsell and consideration of it, then hastily to execute what y^a discountenance by withdrawing y^r selfe both frō horse and foote, w^{ch} wee feare may have an unhappy influence upon both: I could heartily wish that y^a were wth one of them, and then if y^e wished successe attended not the attempt, I am confident wee should be no losers by offering at it. I am so much troubled I know not what to say, the Prince having not yet considered of y^r answeare, w^{ch} I presume he will speedily doe, and thereupon give further advice. For Gods sake let us not fall into ill humours, w^{ch} may cost us deare. Gett good thoughts about you, and let us heare speedily frō you to a better tune: however y^a will pardon this playnnesse of

My L^d,

Y^r Lo^{ps} most affec^t servant,

EDWARD HYDE.

Bristol, this 12 of April,
5 in the evening.

L^d Hopton desired frō the Board to send this away immediately.

Endorsed, "L^r. frō M^r. Chancellor to L^d. Goring.
April 12. 1645."

VIL

THE LORDS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES'S COUNCIL to
CHARLES I.[From the Bodleian Library. *Official Copy.*]MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA^{ty},

WE were not able to offer to your Ma^{ty} any opinion touching y^e contents of y^e L^d Digby¹ his lfe to us (of y^e 19th May present) written by your Ma^{ties} command², until y^e dispute betwixt y^e L^d Goring's army, and that of y^e rebells at Petherton Passe³ was ended, the successe thereof being the best aime we could take to form a judgm^t of y^e Ma^{ties} affaires in these parts. But now the rebells having made

¹ George Lord Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol (to which title he succeeded on the death of his father, January 16. 1653), was born at Madrid, where his father was ambassador, October, 1612, — was member for Dorsetshire in the short Parliament of April, 1640, and again in the long Parliament, in which he exerted himself against ship-money, and many other grievances. He opposed the attainder of Strafford, — was expelled from the House of Commons in June, 1641, and immediately afterwards was called by writ to the House of Lords. In 1643 he was made a Secretary of State; in 1645, Lieutenant-General of all the King's forces north of Trent. During the Protectorate, he served in the French armies in Italy, and became a Roman Catholic. After the Restoration he was made Knight of the Garter. In July, 1663, he exhibited articles of high treason against Lord Clarendon, which were rejected, and himself obliged for a time to quit the kingdom. He died at Chelsea, March 20. 1677, in the 65th year of his age.

² “The Lord Digby, by his letters to the Lords of the Council of the 19th of May, signified his Majesty's pleasure that the Lord Goring should march forthwith towards Northamptonshire, with all the forces could be spared, and that the Prince himself should stay at Dunstar Castle, and encourage the new levies;” it being (I presume) not known at court, that the plague which had driven him from Bristol was hot in Dunstar town, just under the walls of the castle.” — *Clar. Hist. Reb. v.* 189.

³ “By the extreme ill disposing his (Goring's) parties, and for want of particular orders (of which many men spoke with great licence), his two parties went out several ways to fall upon the enemy at Petherton-bridge, the one commanded by Colonel Thornhill, the other by Sir William Courtney, (with diligent and sober officers) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their men; both the chief officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken before they knew their error; through which the enemy, with no more loss, got into and about Taunton.” — *Clar. Hist. Reb. v.* 190, 191.

their retreat to Taunton w^{out} any considerable losse, and being therein a body of at y^e least 3500 foot and about 2000 horse, (as we are credibly advertised) we conceive it is our duty, humbly to re^psent to your Ma^{tie} that *if y^e L^d Goring should presently march out of these parts wth his army, y^e townes of Langport, Ilchester, and Bridgwater, (being no wayes provided for a siege) wth y^e whole county of Somerset are like to be in y^e possession of y^e rebels, wth in a few dayes.¹ And we believe that this desertion of these parts, will not only destroy y^e hopes of all y^e new levies, of y^e association and y^e guards, (now in a very good way, if protected,) but that y^e influence thereof will apparently hazard y^e safety of Bristol, Exeter, this towne, and all other your Ma^{ties} ports and garrisons of y^e west.* But we hope that if your Ma^{tie} shall please to co^mmand hence only those horse and foote, the L^d Goring brought wth him, y^e residue of y^e western army now on foote may sufficiently entertaine y^e rebels, untill, by y^e addition of y^e new levies, your Ma^{ties} forces here may be in condition to straighten and distresse, and thereby probably destroy this army of y^e rebels, if not speedily succoured from the east. And then on all events your Ma^{tie} may expect very considerable reserve in these parts.

Touching amunition there is for y^e present, not only no possibility of sending *such supplies to your Ma^{tie}* as your Ma^{tie} expecteth, or furnishing y^e L^d Goring wth what shall be necessary for his march, but y^e late occasions *have so exhausted the stores of Bristoll and Bridgwater, that if they be not speedily supplied (though they had no other defects) they will not* be able to make any considerable defence, in case an enemy should appeare before *them*. Neither can we see how your Ma^{tie} can possibly have y^e benefitt of those good proportions of amunition and arms lately landed, nor of those greater, w^{ch} we expect, *if y^e L^d Gorings army should by present marching hence, expose these counties to y^e power of y^e*

¹ The words printed in Italics in this letter are not in cypher, but underlined in the original.

rebells. Therefore his Highnesse hath thought it fitt for your Ma^{ties} service to advise *y^e Lord Goring to respite his march fro hence* and intend *y^e advantage he hath of y^e rebells of Taunton*, untill your Ma^{ties} upon this true representation of your affaires here, shall please to send such positive orders as your Ma^{tie} in your wisdoms shall thinke fitt. To w^{ch} comāds your Ma^{tie} shall finde all ready obedience.

In case your Ma^{ties} occasions shall *necessitate y^e march of y^e whole army to your assistance*, according to *y^e L^d Digby*, his lfe, we humbly offer our advice to your Ma^{tie}, that it will not be any way *safe for y^e Prince to continue his residence in these parts*, but in that case, we most humbly propose that your Ma^{tie} will please to comānd *his Highnesse to march wth y^e Lord Goring to attend your Ma^{tie}*, for *these counties and all in them must certainly be lost.*

The God of power and mercy protect, and preserve your sacred Ma^{tie} is and ever shall be *y^e dayly prayer of*

Y^r Ma^{ties} most loyall and dutifull

Sub^{ts} and servants.

May 24. 1645. — Lre from y^e Lords of his Highn^{ts} Councell to his Ma^{tie} concerning the L. Goring's army's not leaving the West. In answer to the L. Digby's of y^e 19.

VIII.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE TO LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

RIGHT HONO^{BLE},

ACCORDING to my engaged promise, I presume to represent (by the chancellor) some animadversions concerning the

For the circumstances adverted to in this letter, see Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 160-1-2-3-9., 200-1-2-3-4.—Cartes Letters, v. i. p. 99.

associated army; and now I presume herewth to send a list of all the officers names w^{ch} I conceive may be needfull for that army; and therefore I shall humbly desire to receive an establishm^t of such officers, as his Highness councill shall think fitt of to allow, together wth the weekly pay for each man. I assure yo^r Lord^p that there neyther is nor shall be any neglect in me toward the p^rformance of my best endeavⁿ for the evying, forming, and serving his Highnes associated army; but I may not conceive my selfe firmly engaged to that service before I understand the certainty of my charge.

My Lord, the associated army hath not had soe expeditious a levy yet as is needfull, but I doe, and shall importunate by all the possibilities I may. In truth, I finde to ¹ much dullnesse in the expected service of many of the associated co^missioners, and likewise of many of those of Cornwall and Devon, a very earnest desire to nibilate my former authority, given by his Ma^{ty} for the co^mand of such forces as were appertaining to the blocking of Plymouth; in soe much, that by their pretence of power by his Highness establishment late at Bridgwater, the comⁿ of Cornwall and Devon have already made positive orders, and warr^{ts} for the disposing of all such weekly rates as were formerly by their establishment assigned me, for my forces towards the maintenance of other garrisons and forces, as hoping by it to take away my power of collecting the meanes that should meantean the forces now blockeering Plymouth, and also such pte ² of them as by his Ma^{ty} positive co^mands I drew of³, and by it stopt and prevented the intended mischief of the rebells growing army then in Somerset; and they well knowing that the associated army (for w^{ch} it was intended) hath not yet of new levied men 200, besides his Highnes life guard, w^{ch} also is not yet levied, neither have those comⁿ yett settled, or taken any

¹ too.² part.³ off.

certain course how otherwise both the blockeers of Plymouth and the rest of them now under my charge lying quartered about Exōn shalbe mainteyned, the greatest p^t of my forces that were with my Lord Goring being come backe, and if they faile of receiving my former accustomed paym^t I shall loose them, and not regaine such againe. And untill the associated army may be raised or formed in pte to a servicable condiōn, my rights ought not to be abridged, neither shall I suffer it before I see his Highnes possitive cōmānds for it: and therefore have I humbly presumed by letter to represent to his Highnes the condiōn of those affaires heere. My Lord, I have a double reason to crave yo^r Lord^{sh} pardon, as both for writing seldome to yo^r Lord^{sh} and also soe much at once, the occasions importuning it: but I well know yo^r Lord^{sh} iudgm^t will excuse me, who account myselfe very happy, by my hopes, to be received as

Yo^r Lord^{sh} most humble servant,

RY. GRENVILE.

Endorsed, "Sir Richard Grenville to y^e Prince
and my L^d Culpepper. 28 May, 1645."

IX.

THE ANSWER OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO A PETITION FROM THE CLUBMEN PRESENTED AT WELLS, ON THE 2^d OF JUNE, 1645.¹

[Bodleian Library. *Official Copy by the Prince's Secretary.*]

HIS Highnesse having graciously admitted a select number of the peticiōn^{rs} chosen by themselves, to his presence, is

¹ Lord Clarendon thus describes the circumstances which drew forth this answer: "Here," he says, "I cannot but say somewhat of the club-men, who began then to rise in great numbers in several parts of the country, about the time that the prince went from Bath to Bridgewater, in his journey to Barnstaple; and that night his highness lay at Wells, which was the

satisfied by their hearty expressions of affection and duty to his Highnesse and his Ma^y service, that their intencōns are very sincere to the publique peace, though till this address made by the peticōn^r, his Highness did not approve those publique meetings without authority, in which though many well affected persons may at first assemble with loyall purposes, it may be justly feared that others of different affections may mingle with them, and taking advantage of accidents and circumstances, may pervert them to actions they did not at first intend; and therefore his highnesse can by no meanes approve of any such meetings, otherwise then as upon suite made to him they shall be allowed by him.

His Highness doth with much sadnesse of heart behold and consider the great pressures and sufferings undergone by his Ma^y good subjects of this county, many of which have happened by the inevitable necessity of this countreyes being made the seat of the warre, for some months, whereby it cannot be expected but their sufferings must be extraordinary: others have befallen them by the willfulness and negligence of divers ill affected persons who have refused to pay their contribucōns, to submit to other warrants issued upon extraordinary occasions upon visible

“second of June, a petition was delivered to him which had been agreed upon that day at Marshal’s Elme, where there had then assembled five or six thousand men, most in arms; and the petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at Bridgewater for an answer. It was evident, though the avowed ground for the rising was the intolerable oppression, rapine, and violence exercised by the lord Goring’s horse, that in truth they received encouragement from many gentlemen of the country; some of them thinking it would be a good expedient to necessitate a reformation in the army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the king, and would grow into the matter of the first association one and all. Therefore some principal agents of Sir John Stawels were very active in those meetings; and he himself was very solicitous that a very gracious answer might be returned to their petition; which was followed by some farmerly men and others of the clergy, both of which had good reputations of affection and integrity to the king’s service.”—Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, v. 197.

necessity, as for pyoneers, sending provisions to the army, and the like ; for impressing of men by publique authority, as well for his Highnesse guards, as for the associated army, many whereof have been reskued by force in severall places, by meanes of all which the governo^r and officers of y^e army have been compelled to send out parties of horse to exact obedience to those necessary and regular warrants, without which, both garrisons and army must be dissolved ; and those partyes have without, and contrary to their orders, much oppressed and grieved those places and persons to which they were not, as well as those to which they were sent.

Lastly, his Highness takes notice with very much trouble of mind, that very great injuries have been done, and insolences comitted by the disorder and lycenciousnes of many stragling loose troopes, and of others, who upon pretence of having been souldiers, have quitted and withdrawn themselves from the present service, given themselves up only to ryott and rapine ; for the removall and prevencōn of all which mischiefes, his Highnesse doth very earnestly recomend and propose to the peticōn^r and to this whole county, that they will forthwith apply themselves to those counsellis which may give greatest assistance to his Ma^{ty} army for the suppressing the rebells now in this county, and the reduceing of Taunton, that so the warre may be immediately carryed out from this oppressed county, the which shalbe no sooner done, then his highnesse will cause all unnecessary garrisons to be sleighted, and will so li^mitt and regulate those which shall evidently appeare necessary to be continued, that there wilbe no further cause of complainte. The best means to do this, is speedily to hasten the levyes agreed upon, and cheerfully to unite themselves to his Ma^{ty} army, and to supply it with those provisions without which it cannot subsiste, and which aparently the rebells would take from them, if they were not protected by his Ma^{ty} forces : and all this

if the petiçõn^r and their neighbours submitt thereunto, may by God's blessing be finished in few days.

In the next place his Highnesse recomends to the petiçõn^r that there may be such a concurrence from them and the whole county, that obedyence may be given to the necessary regular warrants, and such course taken for the collecting all moneyes agreed to be payd, that the souldier may not have cause to send out parties for compulsion, and so have no excuse for the excesse that will inevitably follow thereupon. For the manner and order of which collections and payments his Highnesse will receive any proposiçõn from the petiçõn^r, as he hath already desired the Com^r to undertake the same, that so the souldier might not be put to the collecting any money. And his Highnesse doth give the petiçõn^r and the whole county his princely word that he will endeavour nothing more then to prevent all those inconveniencies which may happen by the unrulynesse of disorderly soldiers, and will cause exemplary justice to be done upon offenders, and a strict examination and inquisiçõn to be taken of those troopes and persons who are most infamous for plundering and other misdemeanoⁿ towards his Ma^{ty} good subjects: and his Highnesse is well contented that the petiçõn^r take all lawfull courses to apprehend all such persons, who are either straglers, or without lawfull warrant exact free quarter, or otherwise infest and disquiet the people: for the better performance whereof, his Highnesse will speedily with the advice of his counsell, and informaçõn of a coun-cill of warre, publish a proclamaçõn with all p'ticular cau-çõns and direçõns that shalbe necessary, every article and clause whereof he will see exactly observed and performed.

Lastly his Highnesse declares that as his coming into these associated counties was to rayse and conduct a army for the procuring a blessed peace, so he hath no thought of imploying that army to any other end, then¹ to

¹ than.

preserve the religion, lawes, and liberty of the kingdome, and to maintaine the liberty and property of the subject from being imposed upon by any arbitrary power, without the consent of the King, Lords, and Commons in parliament, which is the only power to establish lawes, by which all men are to be bound; and if the petiçõ^{rs} or any others shall declare that they intend to assist his Highnesse to this publique and coñon end, by which they can onely hope to the happy and secure, and shall returne a list of their names to his Highnesse, of those who will presently joine themselves to him in this enterprize, his Highnesse will give direcçõ, that they shall be supplied with armes and amuniçõ, and put under the command of such persons as themselves will have cause to approve of. And if by the petiçõ^{rs} engaging and declaring themselves, other men may be drawne to submitt to that good old rule the law, and that henceforward nothing may be imposed upon the subject without the consent of the King, Lords, and Coñons, his Highnesse will interpose and mediate with his Royall Father for a pardon for those who have transgressed, and doubt not but by the blessing of God a firme and lasting peace wilbe established.

His Highnesse will admitt the same or like number of petiçõ^{rs} to his presence, whensoever upon consideraçõ and coñunicaçõ of this his answer they shall desire it, and directs that this his answer be read in the severall churches and chappells of this county.

CHARLES P.

True copy.

Ex. p^r me, Ric. Fanshawe.¹ By his Highnesse
comaund in Councell, RI. FANSHAWE.

June 2¹. 1645. His Highnesse Answer to a Petiç'on presented to him at Wells, the 2^d of June, 1645, from divers of the Inhabitants of the County of Somersett, assembled in a Field neare Castle Cary, in y^e same County.

¹ Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Fanshawe was born June 1608, — in 1630, was appointed Secretary to Lord Aston's embassy to Spain, where he remained

X.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.¹[From the Bodleian Library. *Copy.*]S^r,

I FEARE many of mine miscarry; I have written many lrs to you since the 11th of this month, which is the last it seemes came to your hands; I received your 27th yesterday of the 13th, and this day your 30th of the 12th, so that your 28th and 29th lrs are miscarry'd. I have sent this bearer purposely to see you, and to return speedily to mee. Indeed, y^e tyde is turned shrewdly and unexpectedly, to finde our selves soe fatally beaten, when wee had scarce apprehension of an enemy; but you may observe it hath been soe always, that wee have miscarry'd when wee have

as Chargé d'Affaires after Lord Aston's recall — returned to England about 1638 — obtained, in 1641, the office of Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer — attended Charles I. to Oxford during the early part of the civil war — in March, 1645, was appointed Secretary to the Prince of Wales, and accompanied him in the west — resigned his employment on the Prince quitting Jersey — compounded, and returned to England about the end of 1646, and quitted it again the following year — went on a mission to Spain in February, 1650, from whence he returned unsuccessful in October — was created a baronet, September 2. 1650 — afterwards joined Charles II. in Scotland — was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester — after the Restoration, was M.P. for the University of Cambridge — was sent to Portugal in 1661, on a complimentary mission to the Princess Katherine — in 1662, was made Privy Councillor for Ireland — in 1663, was sent on another mission to Portugal — in 1664, went ambassador to Madrid, from whence he was recalled, but, before he could return, he died at Madrid, June 26. 1666. — See Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs.

¹ Sir Edward Nicholas was born April 4. 1593. Before the civil war, he was successively one of the six Clerks in Chancery, Secretary to Lord Zouch, and to the D. of Buckingham, Clerk of the Council, and at length Secretary of State. He remained with Charles I. till his flight from Oxford to the Scotch army. After the surrender of Oxford, he retired to Jersey, and remained there and on the Continent till the Restoration; — he then resumed the office of Secretary of State, which he retained till October, 1662, when he was succeeded by Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington. He died Sept. 1. 1669, aged 77.

ourselves been strongest, and in those places where wee have beleived ourselves most secure. I have not any doubt but that God will blesse y^e King still, and preserve him by those meanes w^{ch} have been least looked after; and it may bee the western forces are not so contemptible as they have been reported. Oh (M^r Secretary) *if you knew the arte and industry that hath been used at Court to dishonour the Prince, oppress us, and to frustrate all our endeavours, you would be sad at heart.* Trust me, if that had not been, *the Prince would by this time have had the best army that hath been in England since this rebellion.* L Goring hath taken *his pleasure of us.* I pray God hee doth not so *too of the King.* I had noe mind to give him *your cypher with me.* You know the *old way of opening letters,* and I have noe minde *he should know my secrets.*

The King hath sent for my L^d Culpepper and my selfe to attend him at Hereford, but y^e Prince is not willing to spare us both, and soe I think it will come to his turne to goe, and mine to stay here, though truely I had a very good minde to y^t journey. I believe my L^d Culpepper will goe towards Hereford on Munday next, but sure he will not stay long there. *Wee could wish that the King would leave P. Rupert to recruite that army, and himselfe come hither*¹ (at least for some time) *to prevent any mischief by L^d Goring;* and truely I thinke you will, maugre all these misfortunes, have a good account of these parts. My L^d Goring is still before Taunton, and sure hath reduced those people to great streights, and if they are not speedily relieved, they will bee his owne. His forces are above 5000 horse, and sure hee can fight 5000 foote. S^r Rich. Grenvile is with him, and Sir John Berkeley undertakes y^e

¹ Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, expresses regret that the King should "not have immediately repaired into the west, where he had "an army already formed, and a people generally well devoted to his service, "whither all his broken troops and General Gerrard might have transported "themselves before Fairfax could have given them any interruption." (See History of the Rebellion, v. 187.) He omits the reason for desiring the King's presence, which is put forward in this letter.

worke before Plymouth. The Prince hath setled the trayned bands of Cornwall, and put good trusty gentlemen, and good lieuteñt colonells and majors in y^e head of the severall regiments. There will be a body of 6000 foote armed wthin these ten dayes : the Prince intends himselfe to goe thither to take a view of them. *If L^d Goring had been as much soldier as wee expected, that work had been done long before this time ; but hee nothing but drinkes and playes.*

Well, my wife is very much discomforted ; pray cherish her : shee seemes to have great apprehension of dangers, and would fayne remove to some other place. The truth is, I beleive it will bee y^e safest place in England¹, for tis not possible these men will bee soe mad to sit downe before it ; but if shee desires to come away, I will not hinder her. I finde she is in some want ; pray doe me the favour to procure her £100. I will not fayle to returne it againe to you. I will keep your messenger here one day, and then I will send another letter to you by him ; and if you doe not heare often from mee, it shall not bee my fault, for indeed I will write every day. You must excuse mee for not writing to my L^d Treasurer : truely I have neither leisure nor courage, neither doe I think hee cares much for reading lrs, till wee can refresh him with good news.

God send mee once again well to you. Ile assure you I will very hardly part with you. My humble duty to y^e Duke of Yorke, and my service to all my Lords. God be wth you.

Your most humble serv^t.

Barnstaple, this 25 June.

The Prince is much delighted wth this place, and indeed it is a very fine sweete towne as ever I saw.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde — "Myne to Sec.
Nicholas, 25 June, 1645."

¹ Sir E. Nicholas was then at Oxford, which is probably the place here alluded to.

XI.

LORD GORING TO LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

UPON confirmacon of y^e intelligence I had yesterdaye y^t Massye was a Friday at night at Dorchester wth about twoe thousand horse and dragoones, and there eleven hundred men landed at Lyme and already drawn to Burford to joine wth him, I have wth y^e advice of y^e principall officers of this army resolved to drawe all our force to Charde, haveing not a sufficient strength to take out as many as should oppose Massye, and leave any of our quarters before Taunton secure; but by lying there I hope to secure the passage of our own victualls to y^e army, and meete wth one of these bodyes of the enemyes before they joyne. Of any other thinge y^t happens to us I shall not fayle to give yo^r L^{pp} notice. My Lord, having understood y^t S^r Richard Grenvile hath a comission to be marshall of the field from his Highness, I think it my duty to acquaint yo^r Lo^{pp} y^t if he execute y^t comaunde here, it will breed some disorder in the armye, my Lord Wentworth haveing had right and promise to comaunde all persons in this army under me. I shall beseech yo^r L^{pp} therefore to move the Prince humbly in my behalfe y^t S^r Richard Grenvile may not come to y^e armye untill y^t difficultye of comaunde be cleare. Soe I rest

Yo^r L^{pp}s most humble servant,

GEORGE GORING.

Ponsford, 29 June, 1645.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde—"L^d Gorings L're to
y^e L^d Culpepper, 29 June, 1645."

XII.

LORD GORING TO LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

I HAVE desired M^r Paramour to let y^r L^p know in what necessity these forces are for want of mony, especially the officers both of horse and foot. I have a great desire to reforme both, but it cannot be done without some pay to them. Most of S^r Richard Grenvilles men are gone away: some say he has sent for them; and the differences encrease daily betweene him and S^r John Berkly. If the Prince doe not interpose his authority speedily all will goe to wrack; and if there be not a course taken that all the souldiers may have pay as well as some wee shall never keep the rest in obedience. I doe believe if wee tooke the best course to reconcile these differences, and to overcome these difficultyes, wee might keepe Devonshyre and Cornwall, though all the rest of the kingdome were united agaynst us, for which end I should be very glad to have a speedy meeting with some of y^r L^{ps}, now the rebbels give us this respite. They are before Bridgwater.

I am

Y^r Lo^{pps} most humble serv^t,

GEORGE GORING.

Bidiford, 18 July.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde—"L^d Gorings L^re to
y^e Lord Culpepper, 18 July, 1645."

XIII.

LORD GORING to LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

I HAVE sent y^r L^p here enclosed a letter from S^r Richard Grenvile, by which you will finde he is not likely to contribute much to the levyes wee expected out of Cornwall and Devonshyre. I pray God many of his owne countrimen, especially of his owne troopes, be not backward by his example. The old Cornish slip away dayly, and to-morrow morning some have appoynted a rendezvous of their owne accord, where I have sent for horse to meet them. I shall deale freely with y^r L^p: I doe not see any probability wee can get a considerable body together that will fight in this poverty and distractions they are in, but there are some that I know will never yield if there be a timely course taken to place them where they can hold together. I think of our horse and foote there be 2000 that will hold out any place as long as they have victuals and ammunition. I could wish y^r L^p and the rest will advise betimes where to dispose of these men, in case the Cornish will not keepe the field in any sufficient numbers, of which I confesse I have but smale hopes; and providing for the worst, will not disapoynt the best; thus desiring the favour to heare from from y^r L^p, I rest

Y^r L^ps most humble servant,

GEORGE GORING.

28 July.

Endorsed — "Letter from y^e L^d Goring to y^e
L^d Culpepper, 28 July, 1645."

XIV.

LORD COLEPEPPER TO LORD GORING.¹[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]MY L^d,

THE last night late I received yo^r L^{ps} of the same day, wth much troble that y^r foote are lessened to so small a number as 1300, and that y^e officers license their men. All possible diligence is and shall be used here to gett up as many of the runawayes as may be. Toching the want of men in the Devonshire garisons, the Prince desireth y^r L^p to doe therein uppon informa^{co}n of their condition, and of the mo^{co}n of the enemy, as y^r L^p shall thinke best. Wee cannot make any certaine iudgm^t of what may be relyed uppon from this county until after the generall rendezvous, w^{ch} is to be on Thursday next, when y^r L^p shall have a particular account of the fullness of the apparence, only the gentlemen seem very forward in the service, and hopefull to bringe up full numbers. Concerninge the leade, y^r L^p will please to remember the conclusion made thereupon when y^r L^p parted hence, w^{ch} was that y^r L^p would endeavour to send horses for fowre tunns of it from Barnstable, and to have it made from mouldes from Exeter. Our magazins of victualls fill remarkably well. This is all I have to troble y^r L^p wth for the present; being, my L^d,

Y^r L^{ps} most humble serv^t,

Lancaston, 28 July, 1645.

J. C.

The Prince intendeth to send speedily to the King, by w^{ch} opportunity any dispatches from y^r L^p to Court may be conveyed, if y^r L^p thinks fitt.

Endorsed — "L^re from y^e L^d Culpepper to y^e L^d Goring, 28 July."

¹ This letter is written in answer to Lord Goring's of the 27th of July, mentioned in the History of the Rebellion, v. 210. Lord Clarendon there says, that "before an answer could be sent to his last letter, another com-
monly arrived of a different temper."

XV.

LORD COLEPEPPER to the LORDS OF THE PRINCE'S
COUNCIL.[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY VERY GOOD LORDS,

ACCORDING to the Lord Gorings intimation, S^r John Berkeley and my selfe yesterday gaue his Lo^p and the generall officers of his army a meeting. His Lo^p in the first place complayned of the disobedience of S^r James Smith to his Lo^ps orders, much insisting on the extreame ill consequences of their example, and desired again to represent to his Highnes his Lo^ps former suit for justice therein. In the next place he shewed us a lre from S^r Rich. Grenuile to him (a copie whereof I herewith send yo^r Lo^ps) and expressed much trouble concerning the conclusion thereof from these words [Albeit hereafter] protesting that he never spoke any such words of S^r Rich. Grenvile nor any thing like them, and observing that if considerable forces according to former appointm^t were not speedily brought vp from Cornwall he should not be able to continue longe in his poste; much lesse to advance further into the enemies quarters, thereby to secure and ease this county as his Lo^p desired, his present body of foote not consisting of above 1850 men. Thereupon his Lo^ps conclusion was that he desired his Highness would please to send vp S^r Richard Grenvile speedily to the army with such Cornish forces as were in readines, and that he would leave behind him in Cornwall fitt officers to bring vpp the rest. When S^r Richard shall come vpp his Lo^p propoundeth that he may command all the foote, receiving orders onely from his Lo^p and upward, and having his

men quartered together in some convenient quarter towards Lyme (Autrey¹ was named).

One principall reason that his Lo^p gave for this his advise was, that S^r Richard Grenvilles men seemed not willing to be comanded without him, but upon the pretence that he was absent went away from the army, in-so much that of his foure Cornish regim^{ts} (viz. his owne, the two Colonell Arundells, and Colonell Tremaines regim^{ts}), there are not aboue 200 left, the rest being runne away from their colours backe into Cornewall. And his Lo^p is enformed that of those others men^{co}ned in the enclosed lre to be 300 there are not come to Kirton above 150.

His Lo^p further desired that all possible diligence might be vsed to get vp the 5000*l*. of the arrears of the Cornish contribu^{co}n propounded to him by S^r Rich. Grenville for the support of this army, his Lo^p taking notice that his men are much discouraged by the clothing and paying y^e runnawayes and leaving them that have constantly attended their duty naked and pennyles; both which his L^p hopes may be remedied by the collecting the reasidue of the arrears, and by S^r Rich. Grenvile's accompting for soe much thereof as he hath receaved.

These pticulars spent many houres in publique consulta^{co}n: when his Lo^p more privately shewed me the Earle of Berkshire his lre concerning his Lo^ps march eastward to give assistance to his Ma^{tie} wherein his Lo^p fully concurred, beleeving that this county could not long give support to soe greate a body of horse as his is, and desired that his Highnes and yo^r Lo^ps would consider of y^e tyme and other circumstances when such motion might be proper, w^{ch} he conceived could not well be untill S^r Richard Grenvile with his forces were come vpp; and then

¹ Ottery.

such care being taken for the safety of his Highness person [to which his Lo^p fully expressed all tender regard] and the defence of these counties as should be thought fitt, and the remaining forces being placed in proper posts under S^r Richard Grenvile, he should be ready to take the first opportunity to beginne that march. In the meane he propoundeth to yo^r Lo^{ps} consideration whether it may not be fitt to acquaint S^r Richard Grenvile with this inten^{co}n, and his Lo^{ps} desire that he may take the charge of the remayning forces during his L^{ps} absence, which he conceiveth may sweeten, and encourage him in his march vp to the army. For the present his Lo^p finding Tiverton noe safe quarters for the bodie of his foote [it not being capable of such assistance as ought to be from the horse] intendeth to quarter his foote at Culhampton and Bradninch, possessing two stronge houses towards Autry and Lyme and one in the north of Devon, and to lay his horse behind the foote vntill he may bee strengthened with more foote, and thereby enabled to advance.

My Lords, many of these particulars being of soe high concernment, S^r John Berkeley and myselfe durst not presume singly to adventure on any opinion touching them, but only represent them to y^r Lo^{ps} considera^{co}n, whereby yo^r Lo^{ps} may thereupon take such resolu^{co}ns as yo^r Lo^{ps} shall find to be most proper for his Highness service. Only thus much wee offer to y^r Lo^{ps}, that it being probable when the L^d Gorings forces are marched away, the enemie will be ma^r of the field in this county, and consequently that y^e garrisons will be thereby straightened in their provisions, it wilbe most necessary to use all possible dilligence to gett into all the garrisons of this county and Cornwall y^e greatest quantities of provisions both for menn and horse that may be; to which end yo^r Lo^{ps} will please to consider, whether it be not proper forthwith to quicken as well the commissioners, as likewise all

the governoⁿ of garrisons by his Highnes l^{tes} touching this particular. The resolu^{co}n whereof, as of all the contents hereof, is entirely submitted to yo^r Lo^{ps} wisdomes, by
Yo^r Lo^{ps} most humble serv^t,

JOHN CULPEPPER.

Exon, 28th 7^{br}, 1645, at 5 at night.

For the L^{ds} of his Highnes Councill.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde, "L^d Culpeppers L^{re} to y^e rest of y^e L^{ds} fr^o Exon. 28 of 7^{br}, 1645."

XVI.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE PRINCE'S COUNCIL.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A draft in the handwriting of Sir E. Hyde.*]

AT HIS HIGHNESSE COURT.

1. THE L^d Goring hath complayned of S^r J. Smith, and hath desired justice from his Highnesse, which his Highnesse will cause to be done, as soon as all persons concerned shall be heard, and till then it will not be reasonable for his Highnesse to give a rule: in the meane tyme his Highness expects that S^r R. G.¹² other officers in that manner that those forces be not disbanded.

2. The horse and foote that were collected by S^r R. Grenvill for the maintenance of the guards towards Lyme, shall continue under the charge of S^r R.

3. His Highnesse hath formerly directed that the souldiers of the marching army be brought up by their owne officers, and relies principally upon the care of S^r R. G. for the advancm^t of that service.

4. His Highness will take all possible care for the pro-

¹ Sir Richard Grenville.

² Illegible.

visyon of fixed and servicable armes, of which he hopes there will not be greate wante.

5, 6, 7. Care shall be taken for provisyon of muniçõn, match, and artillery.

8. His Highnesse relyes upon S^r Ri. Grenvill for sending out warrants for carriages, who hath authority so to doe.

9. His Highness will use the best meanes he can to provide Chireugiens and necessaryes.

10. S^r Ri. Gre. well knows what meanes his Highnesse hath to rayse monyes, and how impossible it is, in this exigency of affayres, for his Highnesse to undertake any extraordinary constant supply, his Highnesse own wants being very apparent; yet what he is able, he will cause to be done.

11. His Highnesse knows not that any promises have been made to S^r Ri. Gr. which were not performed as exactly as the circumstance of affayres will permitt, and therefore his Highnesse is very sensible of that reproach of promise breakinge, and expects speedily a posityve answer from S^r Ri. Gr. whether he will cheerfully performe the service proposed to him; and if he shall insist on unseasonable and impossible grants and promises frõ his Highnesse, his Highnesse as soon as he knows his minde will take some other course to have the service pformed.

XVII.

LORD GORING TO LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Official Copy.*]

I SHALL desire yo^r Lords^p will be pleased to demand for me a coñmission to be lieutenant generall of all the west, and to commande ymediatly vnder y^e Prince, garrisons as well as the army, to be sworne of the Prince his counsell,

in the same manner that the rest are, as soon as it can be done. That all commissions to officers of y^e army when his Highnes is present, be given by the Prince, but y^t his Highnes signe none, but such as I prepare for him. That in the Prince his absence, I give all commissions. That if any governments of townes fall vacant I may have the absolute recommenda^{ti}on of those that are to succede, or at least a negative voice.

That when the Prince is present in the army, all designes of consequence and motions of the army be debated in the Prince his presence, by the Prince his councill, and such officers of the army as I shall chuse to assist at it; and that vpon the debate his Highnes take such resolutions as he shall please. But all marchinge, quartering, the manner of drawing vpp, and fighting, all designes vpon quarters, or loose bodies of the enemies to be presented ymediatly and singlely by me to his Highnes, and the Prince to give orders accordingly. All orders concerning the army to issue out in his Highnes name when he is present, and to be directed from the Prince ymediatly to me, and from me to be dispersed to the other officers.

That I have power to take all armes, ammunition, and cannon, out of the magazines of any of the garrisons, except such stores as are appropriated to the vse of the garrisons in his Highnes absence.

That the number of the Princes guardes which are exempt from ordinary duty of the army may be lymited.

To have the power and authority which is in the Princes commission recited in mine, as lieutenant generall to his Highnes, and a draft of my commission sent me before it be signed.

To have instructions from the Prince annexed to my commission, in which I desire it may be specified, that I am not to remove any governo^r that hath already his commission.

¹ See Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 236, 237. 245.

To have an establishment of pay out of the contribution of Devonshire and Cornewall for some of y^e generall officers of the army.

29 Sept.—This is a copy of a paper delivered me from the L^d Goring by the L^d Wentworth at Lancelton wthoute any present desire to communicate it. But now the L^d Goring desireth that the effect of it be presented to his Highnesse, and that he would please to give a rule in it.

JOHN CULPEPER.

Endorsed—"29 Sep. 1645. L^d Goring's Paper delivered to y^e L^d Culpepper to be presented to his Highness.

XVIII.

LORD GORING to LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

S^r JOHN BERKLEY will give y^r L^p a full account of the enemys advance, and of our condition heere. I cannot conclude certainly that Fayrfax is so neare us, but because the intelligence comes soe many wayes, wee are very busy providing for them, according to the resolution was taken at our first expectation of them, and I am very confident they shall neyther hurt Exeter nor us. S^r Richard Greenville distracts us extreamly, but when the Prince will be pleased to enable me I hope eyther to bring him into better order, or keepe him from doeing any hurt. I shall not fayle to acquainte y^r L^p with what comes in the knowledge of

Y^r L^{ps} most humble servant,

GEORGE GORING.

4 Oct. 9 o'clock. Exeter.

For the Right Hon^{bl} The L^d Culpeper at Launston.

Endorsed—4 Octob. 1645. L^re from the Lord Goring to y^e Lord Culpepper.

¹ This note is in the handwriting of Lord Colepepper.

XIX.

SIR JOHN BERKELEY TO SIR EDWARD HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]M^r CHANCELLOR,

I FOUND my L^d Goring this day struggling with many difficultyes, and something perplext in the quartering of his men, by reason there are divers troopes of the guards that lye in severall places in this county, and y^e foote that came lately from Cornwall refused to obey his L^{pps} orders. His Lo^{pp} is perswaded that you are not wthout y^r troubles in Cornwall, and possibly of the same kinde, and therefore hath thought fitt by me to propose to my L^d Culpeper and yo'selfe some expedients for a remedy, and desires you to make choice of the most proper; first, that S^r Richard Grenville be ordered to march up with all that can bee procured from Cornwall, and joyneing himselfe to the forces there, receive orders from his Lo^{pp}; if this may not be, that my Lo^d Hopton would be pleased to take the care of the Cornish under his Highnesse, and when he shall be joynd with the forces here, would be subordinate to his L^{pp} as a generall of the ordnance to the generall of the horse. His Lo^{pp} had not propounded this second, but that he hath bin credibly informed my Lo^d Hopton was not averce to it; but if the difference can no other way be reconciled, my L^d Generall is content to lend his forces to my L^d Hopton for this present occasion, and will endeavo^r to dispose all his officers to obey him. If this last be not approv^d of by my L^d Culpepper and yo'selfe, his Lo^{pp} desires that it may not be communicated to any other; if it be, he desires that his readiness to sacrifice his owne interest to the publique may be cleerey represented to his Ma^{tie}, and that he may returne againe to his co^mmand when his obiection shalbe re-

mov^d. My Lord desires a speedy answer, the present condition of the army not admitting any delay, our intelligence being of the enemyes quartering att Chard this night.

(Not signed.)

Poltemore the 6th of October, 1645.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde—"Sir J^o Berkely to
me, 6th 8^{ber}."

XX.

LORD GORING TO LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

I WROTE to yo^r L^dship the other day to lett yoⁿ knowe the intelligence here and y^e resolucions were taken upon it, amongst y^e rest, y^t I had sent Major-generall Webb wth those horse w^{ch} were comaunded out of the towne to avoyd all disputes y^t might arise in matter of comaunde. I shall only add to y^t, that I hope any commaunde is given to any other person over these horse but their owne immediate officers will be but temporary, for I believe it will not be easy to keepe them together in good order for any long tyme wthout their owne officers. I shall beseech yo^r L^p to let me knowe whether his Highnesse pleasure is y^t I shall send orders to S^r Richard Grenvile or noe, whilst wee are neere one another, and y^t if a correspondence may be necessary betweene us, y^t I may dispose of these forces the most for his Ma^{ty}s service, and according to his Highnes comaunde.

I am, your Lordships

Most humble servant,

GEORGE GORING.

Exon, 20 Oct. 1645.

For y^r Right Honourable y^e Lord Culpepper.

XXI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD GORING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Original Draught in the handwriting of Sir E. Hyde.*]

WEE have seene your Lo^{pp}s letter to the L^d Culpeper from Newton Bushell, and vnderstanding that your Lo^{pp} is retýred from Exeter to ioine with the other forces to resiste the enimy wee haue sent our derection to S^r R. Greenvill to receave orders from your Lo^{pp}; and wee here very earnestly desire that ther be that good intelligence and correspondence preserued betweene you, that the seruice (in which all possible vnion and consent is necessary) may receave all advantage, and that your Lo^{pp} will directe all your orders which concerne the Cornish and those under his commande to S^r Rich. Greenvill, that so they may be conveyed through him to the rest. Wee desyre to heare frequently frõ your Lo^{pp}, and resolute our selfe tomorrow to goe to Liskarde, and ther to resyde, till the movem^t of the enimy or occurrences shall make our remoove reasonable.

Lord Goring.

Launceston 23 Octob. 1645.

Endorsed.—“23 Octob. 1645. L^r. from his Hign^{ess} to y^e Lord Goring—“a rough Draught by the Chancellor.”

XXII.

LORD CAPEL¹ to SIR EDWARD HYDE.[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]DEARE M^r CHANCELOR,

I WROTE to you yesterday what M^r Sherriff and I did at Bodmin for the arrears of contribution. I am now heere to persue the like course for Liscard with M^r Jane.

By the information of the magazin-keeper heere, there is an incredible loss in baking the corne into biskett; for the biskett makers for twenty of those cornish bushells w^{ch} weighe 2400 pound returne in biskett but 1200. Wee doe conceive if hee baked into breade there wilbe gayned one days provision in three — sooner baked — easier portage — less loss in portage — more acceptable to the souldyer; and it wilbe spent as fast as yt can be brought to the army. I haue written to the L^{ds} about it: if they finde it better Ile take order for it accordingly. It may come timely enough before the corne be brought in and ground.

If all that can be desired be gayned for quantity of prouisions, yet if meanes of portage bee not had, wee shalbe in the same case as if our hands were tied, to all things else. Less than 400 horse will not be enow to pass, and againe to supply the army, when it is in any distance to Exeter.

I conceive that one shilling a day at least should be allowed for a horse & driver out of the growing contribution; — that industrious and discreete persons be appointed

¹ Arthur Lord Capel, son and heir of Sir H. Capel, was M. P. for the county of Hertford in 1640 — was created Baron Capel in 1641 — served in the royalist army in the first civil war — afterwards compounded with the Parliament, and retired to his family estate — was afterwards engaged in a rising on the King's behalf in concert with Sir C. Lucas, and Sir G. Lisle — was taken prisoner by Fairfax, and committed to prison — escaped — was apprehended again — tried, and condemned for high treason in February, 1649, and beheaded on the 9th of March of the same year.

att each magazin, that see the prouision loaded, and goe alonge with them, who are to have a protection signed by the Prince to preserue the horses from being plunderd: —a stricte proclamation published through the army, that it shalbe death without mercy, for any person to plunder any of the horse that are for the cariage of provisions; and these perticulars to be published in the countree.

Concerning his Highnes removall you are by my trumpeter satisfied to the full. Truly my opinion is that it is absolutely necessary, and as necessary to have it published. I hope it will bring upp the west of Cornewall. If the letters come to those gentlemen, Ile take care, by my comrads, to make them as effectuell as they can.

I have respited the sending of any officers for mony vntill I heare from you, because I beleeeve it will come along with you when the Prince comes. In good fayth my officers are not fitt to know of any mony: they haue a good title by necessity to some share of it: trust me tis inconuenient: I feare it may discontent them: the troopers grumble because that ¹ had 15^s apeece.

I haue taken order for 500 payre of shoes heere. Ile send to Leslithell: none to bee gott at Bodman: more I hope wilbe gotten heere.

They now make mee beleeeve that att least 2 parts in 5 wilbe gayned in breade from biskett, and greate loss wilbe in cariage of biskett: twill break in the sacks to nothing. This night I expect my trumpet^r from you. I rest

Your most affectionate servant,

ARTHUR CAPELL.

24 Decemb. Liscard.

Hast hast
post hast

For his Maiestys especiaall service.
For the Right Honorable S^r Edward Hyde,
Chancellor of the Exchequer att Truro.

ARTHUR CAPELL.

¹ Illegible.

XXIII.¹

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

* * * * *

FOR the imprysoning of S^r Richard Grenville (who is most unworthy of y^e reputacōn he had) we were absolutely necessitated to it; and though my affection to S^r John Berkeley made my kindness to him suspected, from y^e time of my cōming into the West, I protest to God I proceeded in all y^t concerned him, as I would have done in y^e case of my brother, or wth more tendernesse. We had noe reason to believe his interest in y^e country soe great; neither in truth was it; but y^e gen^lall indisposicōn w^{ch} at y^e time possessed men was very apparent, when those very men, who complayned against him, and seemed to despise him, tooke occasion to grumble at his removall: but sure if ever a sober time come, wee shall be iustified, when he will not be able to looke good men in y^e face, except his fellow prysoner the Duke² indeered his sufferings to y^e King. If wee did not send you at that time a particular relaⁿcōn of y^e whole matter, I can doo it now.

I make noe question, but you have buried and burned many papers, w^{ch} would bee of singular use to mee, but noe doubt you can recollect much of those papers by your memory, and sett downe such particulars as will be of great informaⁿcōn to mee; and if you doe not helpe mee y^t way, I shall bee much to seeke. I did write to my L^d Culpepper to intreate J. Ashburnham³ to send me an exact relaⁿcōn of all

¹ The portion of this letter which is here printed was omitted by the Editors of the Clarendon State Papers.—The remainder of the letter will be found in vol. ii. p. 306. to 310. of that work.

² Duke of Hamilton.

³ John Ashburnham, born 1603; in 1628 was appointed groom of the

y^e passages in the Kings journey to y^e Scotts, and of such other particulars as he could not but know I should neede, well knowing what I was about: his L^v sent mee word hee would not fayle of it, but since y^t hee hath writt to mee, y^t J. A. is gone into Holland but hath promised to send it to him — a likely matter. If upon his returne hee shall visitt you, you may upon discourse sufficiently informe yourselfe to make a rela^{cion}; or, it may bee, to satisfy your curiosity, hee may give it you formally in writing, w^{ch} I have noe reason to expect hee will bee forward to gratify so abject a creature as my selfe wth, though truly I have many titles to his better opinion; and I am sure hee hath no cause to be so unkinde to mee, but the conscience of having put very frequent disrespects upon mee, w^{ch} I believe he will hereafter finde, by his experience of other men, not to be well done. I never heard of the particulars of y^e meeting at Newarke, or of y^e battle at Naseby, y^e taking of Bridgwater or Bristoll, or anything that passed after, for my L^d Digby and I had not leisure at our meeting to speake of anything, but only those matters in w^{ch} we differed soo much: and therefore I beseech you upon your owne skore (for I have not acquaintance enough to doe it) procure those rela^{cions} and other particulars memorialls from S^r Edw. Walker¹ who is now in France, and with whom you cannot but have a usefull correspondence.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde — "letter to Mr. Sec.
Nich., 12. 10^{ber}. 1646."

bedchamber to Charles I; was M.P. for Hastings in April, 1640 and in the Long Parliament; was discharged from the H. of Commons in 1643; in 1644 was one of the King's Commissioners at Uxbridge; attended Charles I. in his flight to the Scotch army at Newark in April 1646, and from Hampton Court in November 1647. In 1660 he was appointed groom of the bedchamber to Charles II.; was elected M.P. for Sussex; died in 1671.

¹ Sir Edward Walker, author of the "Historical Discourses," filled successively the places of Rouge Croix pursuivant, Chester herald, Norroy and Garter king-at-arms. After the Restoration he was one of the clerks of the Privy Council. Died, Feb. 19. 1676.

XXIV.¹

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the Bodleian Library. A Copy.]

* * * * *

I AM of your opinion y^t the Independ^{ts} will never suffer this money to bee payd to y^e Scotts, but I differ with you, y^t the Scotts upon y^e receipt of it will goe out of England, and then returne againe to reestablish y^t King. If they once quitt Newcastle and Tinmouth, the goe not *cum animo reuertendi*, whatever may afterwards fall out: but I have not the leaste apprehension of their retyring, or of y^e Kings parting wth them; and their truce wth Antrim² and Kelkitto³ is a criticall instance that they intend a full Vnion. Yet there must be spetious overtures of departing, and I shall not bee startled to desperacōn, though

¹ Other portions of this letter will be found in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 317. to 319. Its date is January 1st, 1647.

² Randal Macdonnel, second Earl of Antrim, created Marquis of Antrim by Charles I., married the widow of George D. of Buckingham, the favourite of James I. Lord Clarendon says he was "a man of excessive pride and "vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding." He had engaged to assist Montrose, who went privately to Scotland, "where he lay quiet without "undertaking any action, until the Marquis of Antrim, by the countenance "and assistance of the Marquis of Ormond, did make good so much of his "undertaking that he sent over Alexander Macdonnel, a stout and an active "officer (whom they called by an Irish appellation Calkito), with a regiment "of 1500 soldiers, who landed in the Highlands in Scotland at or near "the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of Montrose was "ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly published his commission of being general for the King over all that kingdom." Hist. Reb. v. 113.

³ The person miscalled "Kelkitto" and "Calkito" was Alexander Macdonnel of Coll-Kettoch. His name is among those quoted by Milton in his sonnet in defence of the euphony of the word "Tetrachordon."

"Why is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
"Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp?"

"These rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek
"That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp."

I heard y^t the day of their march was not only agreed on, but y^e first £100000 payd, and hostages delivered; and yet I perceive your friends at Paris are unmeasurably dejected wth less circumstances. Noe doubt y^e Scotts and y^e Independ^{ts} are soe thoroughly acquainted wth each others natures, and policyes, y^t every proposi^{ti}on is a stratagem, each party proposing not what hee desires to submit to, but what he foresees y^e other must upon his principles, or for his ends reiect, and thereby their strength and reputa^{ti}on with the people is encreased. Thus since it is not reasonable y^t the Scotts should depart ye kingdome before they receive their wages, the Independ^{ts} must bee solicitous to provide money, in which besides ready money, they have a great addi^{ti}on of strenght by the engagement of soe many purchasers of y^e Church lands, who are thereby become as desperate as themselves, and will never consent to any peace, by which the purchaces shall not be made good. On the other side the Scotts must seeme impatient to bee gone, and to receive their money, w^{ch} they know the others jealousy will never part with; soe that whilst each party endeavours to make y^e other visibly the cause of y^e breach, you shall see the Scotts (who will ever have some weighty proposi^{ti}on depending the agreeing whereof is as essentiall to the peace as the money) possesse themselves at leaste of the first paym^t, or else the whole will be brought into such a place as y^e successe of a battayle shall only determine to w^{ch} syde it belongs: yet the Scotts will endeavour to prolong the businesse as much as may bee, presuming y^t the vast burthen of both armyes upon y^e kingdome, and y^e impo^{ss}ions for their support, will best instruct y^e kingdome how fatall a new warr is like to prove to them. But to beleive y^t they will quitt with Barwick and Carlisle, Newcastle, w^{ch} alone, well husbanded, will mainteyne a pretty army, or y^t they will suffer y^e king to depart from them, after they have published the sense themselves have of these obliga^{ti}ons by

by their covenant, to re-establish him in his iust rights, or y^t they will endanger their owne peace, by letting loose those of y^e Kings party, w^{ch} upon the King's being deserted will entertaine their country wth new and worse troubles then Montrose hath yet given it, I confesse is soe contrary to my reason, y^t I feare neither : and yet I believe y^e crisis is not yet soe neare as men imagyne ; and if you have y^e book of the Treaty at Vxbridge, you will finde many particulars in y^r Article of Edinburgh both wth reference to England and Ireland, w^{ch} will entertaine them wth long debate, besides some clausses they have a more legall advantage by, in y^e very Act of Pacification made by Parliam^t in y^e beginning of these troubles.

XXV.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO LORD COLEPEPPER.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

You cannot imagine y^e satisfaction and contentment this fre of yours, and the enclosed (which can bee noe bodys work, but S^r Edw. Walkers, and shall bee preserved by mee with all iust secrecy) have brought to mee ; not y^t it was halfe what I looked for, (you shall finde it will be a hard matter to answer y^t fully) but y^t it is an earnest to mee, you think upon mee, and will contribute seasonably, and liberally to the work ; and seriously the contemplacōn of that hath given new spiritts to me, even when I was tyred ; for I will not deny to you, y^t the vastnesse of y^e worke, which every day presents itself more monstrous to mee, hath made mee often wish I had never entertayned y^e thought of soe unequall an enterprize. I long for your manuscript, but more for Jack Ashburnhams tribute, the w^{ch} if you have not hope of procuring speedily, y^t is, if instead of coming back to Paris, hee goe to Newcastle, I

shall expect your owne recollections of those particulars, w^{ch} in discourse you have received from him. And y^e reason why I joined y^e old Gen^l wth you in the businesse of Edg-hill, w^{ch} I intend shall comprehend y^e business of Brainford too, with all y^e intervenient passages, is because I know upon your memory and interrogatoryes, you may easily supply yourselfe from him (provided you have patience) wth very materiall circumstances; and it may bee if you spend an houre more with my L^d Willmott (who comanded the left wing where you were not) you may make your discourse y^e more perfect. The like care I expect from you, concerning the seige of Gloucester, the raising y^e seige, and retreite, the oversight there, the quick march after, and y^e first battle of Newbury (where wee lost deare Falkland, whom y^e next age shall be taught to valew more then y^e present did), your next yeares march into and out of y^e West, wth the second and third businesse of Newbury. And all these (though I doe not looke you should doo it altogether in as little roome, and as little time as I aske it) you will with y^e assistance of S^r Edw. Walker, who I presume hath short memorialls as to times and things, finde not very difficult, and much easier if you goe about it y^e next houre after you have reade my lre than if you deferr it a month longer.¹

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde—"To my L^d
Culpeper. Jan^y 8. 1646-7.

¹ Other portions of this letter are printed in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. 325—327. I have omitted an intervening portion (also omitted by the Clarendon State Papers) because it is scarcely more than a repetition of the account of the progress Hyde had made in the composition of his *History of the Rebellion*, given in his letter to the Earl of Bristol. — Clarendon State Papers, ii. 334.

XXVI.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

I WILL tell you a tale of w^{ch} it may bee you may know somew^t; if you doe not, take noe notice of it from mee. When wee were in Cornwall, Colonell Smyth (who was S^t Alexander Dentons sonne in law, and taken in y^t house) having obteyned his liberty by J. Ashburnhams friendship upon such an exchange (one of y^e councillors of Ireland) as would have redeemed y^e best man, came to us from y^e King at Hereford. To mee he brought a short perfunctory ltr from my L^d Digby; but from J. A. to my L^d Culpeper his dispatch was of weight; his businesse to erect a Mint at Truro, w^{ch} should yeild the King a vast profit; — Mr. Browne J. A^s man (who was long a prysoner) wth him. The Kings dues by a speciall warrant (w^{ch} I saw) to bee paid to Mr. Ashburnham. What he did in Cornwall I know not, for you perceive he was to have noe relac^{on} or reference to mee, w^{ch} if you had been Chancello^r of y^e Excheq^r you would have taken unkindly. Shortly after the Prince came hither he came to us, having left Cornwall a fortnight before wee did. You must imagine my L^d Culpeper was forward to helpe him, and how he proposed to sett up his Mynt, and assured us, that he had contracted wth merchants at S^t Malloe to bring in such a quantity of bullyon as would make y^e revenue very considerable to y^e Prince. Wee wondered why the merchants of S^t Malloe should desire to have English money coyned. Hee gave us an answer y^t appeared very reasonable; that all y^e trade they drove with the West Country for tynne, fish, or woole, was driven wth money; that therefore they sent over their pistolls, and their livres, and peices of eight in which they

sustayned soe great a losse, that their merchants had rather have this bullyon coyned into English money at 20 in the hundred, then take y^e other way. After severall debates, in w^{ch} (though there seemed noe convincing argument to expect great profit from it) there was not y^e least suggestion of inconvenience, hee pretending y^t hee had all officers ready at St. Malloe, and such as belonged to the Kings Mynt, and likewise his Comⁿ under y^e great seale (for he produced only y^e warrant under the sign manuall), the Prince writ a fre to the Governo^r, Bayliffe, and Jurats to give him countenance, and to assign him some convenient place to reside in. Shortly after the Prince went away, the Colonell proceeds, brings his wife hither (who in truth is a sober woman) and takes a little house remote from neighbours, but pretended y^t the Prince his remoue and other accidents had hindered the advance of y^e service, but y^t hee hoped hereafter to proceed in it. Here he lived soberly and reservedly; and after too or three monthes here was found much adulterate money, halfe crown pieces, w^{ch} had been put off by people belonging to him. One only officer he hath, an old Catholique, one Vaughan, who is a good graver. The Govern^{or} (who is strangely ciuill to all men, but immoderately to such gentlemen as have seemed to serve the King in this quarrell) was much perplexed, the ciuill magistrates here taking notice of it, and sent to him to speake with him, told him y^t hee beleived his educa^õn had not been to such artifices, and y^t he might be easily deceived by the man he trusted, who was not of creditt enough to brave the burthen of such a trust, that if this island fell into suspicion of such craft, their trade would be undone, and therefore (having shewed him some peices of money) desired him by noe meanes to proceed in y^t designe, till satisfaction might be given by the view of such officers who were responsible for it. The Colonell denied some of y^e peices to bee of his coyning, but confessed others, and sayd, it was

by mistake too light: but I had forgott to tell you y^t hee had assured me 2 or 3 dayes before that hee had yet coined none. To conclude (though much troubled) he promised y^e Governor not to proceed further in it; then hee came to mee, and told me a long and untoward discourse of a great trust betweene y^e King, M^r Ashburnham, and himselfe, and one more, w^{ch} he would not name, but led me to believe it was M^r A^s. friende at Paris, and y^t the designe originally was to coyne dollers, by which he could gaine a vast advantage to y^e King. Hee found mee not soe civile as he expected, and therefore easily wthdrewe, and the same day attempted y^e Governor and offered him a strong weekly bribe (enough to keepe you and mee, and both our familys very gallantly) to joyne wth him, and assist him. His reception was not much better there, soe y^t he hath since procured a good stout fre from the Prince, to co^mmand y^e Governo^r, Bayliffs, and Jurats to give him all countenance, and to advance y^e service. This will put an end to it, for y^e Governor will deale freely wth the Prince, though upon the confidence we have still naughty new money. The reason of y^e Governor^s exceeding tendernesse, is his duty to the King, to whom such a Com^a (w^{ch} indeede is a strang one) would draw much dishonor. Tell me if you know anything of this, and whether you thinke your friend soe wise and carefull of his masters honor as hee should bee: beyond this say nothing of it, except to my L^d Hopton who can tell you how scurvy a thing it is.¹

¹ Other portions of this letter will be found in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 341-2. Its date is Feb. 24. 1647.

XXVII.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR JOHN BERKELEY.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

MY DEERE JACK,

YEASTERDAY I receaved yours of the 8th, when I conceive you had not receaved ether of those letters I have lately writt to you. I doe not thinke y^r friends at London will bee so soone able to giue a judg^{mt} of the affaires of Englande, as they promise you. They will I beleeeve stand a good time at the passe, they are now at, and when they are convinced generally (for they that most beleive it will¹ ther utmost power to keepe others from beleeveing it, as long as may be) that the King will not bee stormed out of his princely resoluçõs, there resoluçõs thereupon will not bee easealy taken; for though I doubte not but some of them have longe since concluded w^t they wish to be done, (not one of whome would be conuerted by any compliyanse from the Kinge, excepte such as should devest him and his posterity of any authority or power ouer them) yet doubtlesse the² are far enough from those inclinaçõs: and though they have, heitherto, only insisted on those parts of the coven^{ts} w^{ch} have beene moste opposite to the Kinge, ther will not now want some who will rememb^r the first articles of every one of these protestaçõs and couen^{ts}, the defence of the Kings person, and another of the Kings rights, and will bee ready to say, that they only denyd him his negative voyce whilst he was in the power of other men, who hindred the operaçõs of his own faculties and affecçõs; but that now he is intirely himselfe and vncorrupted by evill

¹ Sic.² Sic.

councillours, the taking away his freedome cannot consist wth the preserva^{ti}on of the freedome and priviledge of Parliament. I say not this to you out of any ridiculous hope that all may yet goe well (God knowes if the whole kingdome were honestly and unanimously inclined to have it so, it would aske great delibera^{ti}on and wisdom, and be difficulte to y^t delibera^{ti}on and wisdom to wind vp that bottome w^{ch} the madnesse and folly on all sides have broken and reveld) but that you may see ther is roome for sober considera^{ti}ons wthout goeing up hill against ther couenants, or in the face of any of ther ordinances, both w^{ch} are the naturall obiections against w^{ts}oever shall be thought moderate.

For my parte I cannot dissemble my opinion y^t the Kinge had chosen the most vnquestionable best corse for himselfe, w^{ch} I doe verily beleeeve God will blesse miracuoussly (and it were a miracle if hee should not): however the worst will be ruine: wth honour, when a¹ and unkingly and unconscionable compli^{an}ce would have brought the same ruine, wth an vncompassionated infamy; for to thinke that these men who found that his distruction vpon his firmnesse, and his constancy to religion and honour (for w^{ch} all the worlde besides will pay him adora^{ti}on,) would bee firme and constant to him who should forsake those founda^{ti}ons, is too vnreasonable to a man no better versed in the arts of the world then I am; so that to my vnderstandinge I must still say the question is not, nor of a long time hath bene, whether he should perish wth all his regalities, or by partinge wth some, preserve himselfe and the rest (w^{ch} case it selfe is not very easily resolved) but whether hee will perish before he parts wth them, that is, doeing his part to preserve them, or perish after hee hath parted wth them, after hee hath quitted so much authority to other men, and made them so much above him, that it may bee

¹ Sic.

questionable whether the exercise of any power ouer him, bee an acte of oppression. I ad to this that wee haue yet noe example for any Kinge of Englande, who hath bene destroyed without his owne consent, or who hath bene preserved after his consent to w^t might reasonably destroy him. You may bee sure by the ¹ of this paper that I intended not, when I began, to write so much, and soe not to say any thinge of this argument, for it is hard for me to say soe little in it; but I am in before I am aware of it, and I came out as soone as was possible. The proposiçon to the Kinge to confirme all y^t they haue done vnder the greate seale is of greater extent then I beleeeve it is at first vnderstood to be, and may probably doe all the businesse wthout any other submission. It is very probable most of their materiall ordinances are under the great seale; no doubt all the sales of church lands are. All wee may be outlawed vnder the great seale: in a worde by that one acte the lawyers would not want logique to prove w^{soever} they have done to be lawfull, and what soever wee haue done by the Kings owne seale to bee voyde, w^{ch} would legally destroy as many men as all the proposiçons. Indeed I haue a sadder apprehension of mischieve from that Scottch Arguyle² then from the whole packe of both kingdomes. Write me somew^t of the Duke Hambleton w^t his negotiaçons are and haue bene.

Farewell &c.

Jarsey this 18th of March.³

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde — "18th March,
to S^r J. Barkly."

¹ Illegible — probably "size."

² Archibald Cambell, 8th Earl of Argyle.

³ 1647.

XXVIII.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

ON Thursday last to¹ Parliament shippes came, and anchored wthin cannon shott of y^e Castle, haveing first hunge out a white flagg, and then sent a boat wth a trumpett, and the master of one of the shippes who brought these two wise inclosed letters, to wth our Governo^r presently returned these answeres, both which he sent vnsealed; the w^{ch} no sooner came to the shippes, than they waighed anchor and bid vs farewell. Tell me if you can thinke w^t the meaning of so ridiculous a sūmons can be. Is it only to give satisfaction to those who importune them to doe somewhat in order to reduce vs, or is it a prologue to somewhat in earnest? y^e w^{ch} I cannot thinke them prepared for, or y^t they are so folish to splitt themselves upon such a rocke. Y^t clause in it of freedom of trade methinkes lookes as if they expected some overture to be made, and a cessaçōn, though they putt in y^e deliverie vp of the Islands, w^{ch} sure they could not be so madd as to expecte. Whilst ther shippes were heare, two lusty boats wee sent two dayes before wth provisions to Guernsey returned safely hither, so, wth what wee shal. add the next darke moone, y^t place will be safe for this sūmer. The people ther are very ready to rise, and are weary of there new masters, if they had any assistance or direction from y^e Castle: but the truth is, Baldwin Wake (though he be honest) hath nether discession or sobriety to manage such a worke. I woulde ther were a wiser in the place, and then Ile paune my life wee would easily reduce it.

I heare no more of my Lord Digby, w^{ch} makes me beleieve he is not yet landed in France; and y^e last prints

¹ Two.

speake as if he were still at Dublin: wthin my opinion he should not returne vpon any assurance, after the Parliament hath the power or interest there. It seemes the forces goe slowly thither; and how ma^{ie}ly soever y^e Independents talke of submitting all to y^e Parliament, they are not inclined to goe thither but vnder their owne co^mmanders: and then, though they should be disbanded, I thinke the Presbiterians will apprehend ther being spred ouer y^e kingdome; and ther notable intelligence wth each other, may give them some trouble. I had forgott to tell you, the seamen who brought the trumpett and the master from y^e shipp, and were well entertained with wine from the Castle, said they perceived the King and this Island were both of one minde, and y^t neither of them would consent to their orders. They all spake wth more duty and good manners of of the King than their letters have used to doe, & sayd they doubted not they should live to see him againe at Whitehall.

Well (Mr. Secretary) if it shall please God to restore his Ma^{tie} by his owne admirable courage and virtue, how much happier will he and the kingdome be, than if he had recoverd his rights by a victory! Seriously I haue often thought how miserable his condi^{ti}on would have bene, if he had prevailed y^t way, when every man who had not bene a traytor would have thought his loyalty of so much meritt, that no preferment could have bene a recompence, and every Collonell beleeeve the King owed his crowne to his sworde. As you remember, Porter told an excellent tale of a quarell between my Lady Marleborough and Mrs. Fretyeuill, in the argument w^{ch} of their husbands had sett the crowne upon the Kings heade, either of them imputeinge all the Kings successes, to y^e coueage and conducte and intent of her husbände. And seriously, the trouble, vexa^{ti}on, and insolence, w^{ch} the King must have indured from such men (and God knowes most men were growne such) would haue bene intolerable. Whereas now

there are very few whose ¹ the Kinge could not reproch wth some signall acte, y^t would draw a blush from him. Besides I cannot tell whether ther are not so many promises passed to unfitt men, for places and offices, that even for the decent supply of those ² the present nominaçõn should be transfered to other handes. I doe impatiently every day expecte Will Hyde³, who I presume will waite on you in his way. Till his comeing I can know nothinge of my little flocke in England, but by him. I hope to giue some derection for the sale of a little land in Englande, by which both you & I may gett some money; for, of all the money owed me ther, I haue no probable expectaçõn to gett a penny, they who owe it thinkinge they have merited exceedingly in not discouering it to the Parliament, though they pay it not to me. I have written almost a litle discourse of the affaires of England, in a different manner & consideraçõn from any y^t I have yet seene, being most vpon the person of the Kinge. As soone as it is finished, I will have it translated heare into French, as if it were originally written in y^t language; & then I will send both to you, y^t, if you thinke fitt, you may cause both to be printed and spredd in England. Send me word if you can doe such a businesse ther. God of heaven blesse you & yours, & send vs a good meeting to y^e comfort of S^r

Yo^r most affectionate servn^t.

Jarsey the 10th of May, sti. vet.⁴

¹ Sic.

² Sic.

³ He had been expecting him more than a month, as appears from his letter of April 7. 1647. William Hyde died about the beginning of Sept. 1652. Sir Edward Hyde in a letter to Sir E. Nicholas, of Sept. 13. 1652, says he has just heard of the death "of honest Will. Hyde, which," he adds, "I must tell you is a thorough blow to me, and hath at once lost and destroyed all my hopes in England, he having all my concernments under his care, and being the conduit through which all my other friends were rendered useful to me. He took all that related to me to heart, and is, I must tell you, a killing loss which I shall not recover." — Clar. State Papers, iii. 96.

⁴ 1647.

XXIX.

TO LORD HOPTON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

MY MOST HONORED L^d,

ALTHOUGH I haue not troubled your L^{op} with my lines since I received your commands, I hope you will impute it to any other cause, then ¹ neglect or forgetfulnes, in confidence of w^{ch} I shall proceed, and give your Lo^p this accompt; that, as soone as I gott opportunity, I did fully and freely debate with and p^{re}sent to his Ma^{tie} first *your proceedings in the West, which pleased him* : secondly hee is assured *that what you did, to oppose the Prince his going from Jersey, was not of design, or to occasion, but according to your iudgement; and so he is well satisfied*, haueing the same oppinion of S^r Edw. Hyde; and so I pray assure him from mee. For the importance of Jersey, he giues you many thankses for your aduice, as well knowein it, and will endeavorg to preserue it, haueing already given order to Lo. Jermyn about it, and doeth highly value the loyalty and seruice of S^r Geo. Carteret and his family. Thus much my L^d in order to your commands, in doeing of w^{ch} I tooke not more pleasue to p^{re}sent them, as concerning neerely so good a friend, then, I receaved satisfaction in the peticular answeres, and good acceptacōn of yo^r Lo^{ps} reasons and proposalls; and haueing discharged this trust, I shall rest satisfied, if it may bee acceptable to your L^{op}, whom I desire so much to serve, though I feare I shall fall short in poynt of intelligence of the state of our affaires; for really, at this time, few men, I believe, can make any judgment what the issue wilbe of the great difference betweene the 2 parties, though I am confident, out of it some great advantage will come to his

¹ Than.

Ma^{tie}, who, when they have driuen themselues out of breath, must bee umpier, and pardon all. The army professe much for the King, and to say truth are very ciuill to all his party who come and goe freely.

Y^r L^{ops} most obliged
and humblest Sūan
(Signature obliterated.)

Oatlands, 25-15 August 1647.

For my ever honored L^d
the L^d Hopton theise. — ROAN.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde. — "Intelligence
frō Otelands, 16 Aug." (1647.)

XXX.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR TOBY MATHEW.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

YOU will easily conclude of how great use and informa^{ti}on your letters have been to us, when you know that we know nothing that had passed in the treaty at Breda, or since the Kings² co^ming thither, but what we have receaved from you, we having not had one lyne from any person of that trayne, for w^{ch} in truth I doe not much censure any of them, having been myselfe often acquainted wth those

¹ Secretary Windebank, in a letter to Charles I. of Oct. 6. 1640, writes : " Sir Toby Mathew was yesterday apprehended by a warrant from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and is in custody of an officer of the High Commission; but the offence is not yet known." Clarendon State Papers, ii. 129. This Sir Toby Mathew was a Roman Catholic priest. His offence was the possession of a Bull from the Pope, and supposed participation in a plot for the subversion of Protestantism in England. See Rushworth, iii. 1324. Bishop Kennet in his Register speaks of "a collection of letters made by Sir Toby Mathews, Knight, with a character of the most excellent Lady Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, by the same author, to which is added several letters of his own to several persons of honour who were contemporary with him." — Kennet's Register, 318.

² Charles II.

exercises, and never been lesse disposed to correspond wth my freinds, then during the time that those skirmishes continue, the eare being as delicate a sense as any of the other, and so the payne of hearing continuall nonsense spoken (setting the treason aside) is not only as great a vexacōn, but really as sharpe a torment as the goute, or stone, or toothache can be.

I cannot yet conceive it possible that the King can make such a conclusion wth the Scotts as to deposite his person amongst them; though I must tell you that whoever hath not rayzed so strong fortificacōns of vertue about himselfe y^t necessity it selfe, how apparent and visible soever, cannot force him to doe an ill or an ugly thing, will be easily inclyned to thinke the despayre of his condiçōn may make him lay hold on anything that lookes like an expedient, when there seems not to be a greater conspiracy and combinaçōn amongst his owne subjects, then¹ among Christian Kings and Princes to destroy him, who are soe infatuated as to thinke the madnesse and fury of that people will be terminated wthin those dominions, for w^{ch} they now contend—whereas they may see that they are rebells of a more large hearted extent, and contend not for the liberty of England, but for the liberty of mankinde; soe that it were noe base or idle feare, if all Christendome apprehended their being conquered by these men, who can carry strength enough any where to be a shelter to those of their own opinion, and (there being enough of that opinion in all places) if they had once a body to resort to, to destroy and extirpate all the settled Governm^{ts} in Christendome. And give me leave to tell you that, in my opinion, your Catholiques are not soe sharpe sighted in this point as I expected, and instead of engaging themselves to vindicate and support a Prince, who will performe whatsoever can be reasonably askt of him, and under whom his Catholique subjects might enjoy a full happinesse, flatter themselves that they shall enjoy pro-

¹ Than.

tecõn and security under these devills, who in the end will extirpate them out of all their dominions: and this the Irish will finde after they have pleased themselves wth animosyties against particular persons, and been revenged of their countrymen, whom they hate, at the price of their country; and if there were not some such judgement reserved for them, they could not be at present soe fatally infatuated as they are.

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde. — "Myne to Sir
To. Mathew, 23 May, 1650.

XXXI.

LORD COTTINGTON¹ and SIR EDWARD HYDE to MR.
SECRETARY LONG.²

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

HAUING written soe lately to you as the 3d or 4th of this moneth, we should not now haue given you a new trouble if wee were not called on, by a very untoward accident, to give his Ma^{tie} an account of a new interrupcõn and

¹ Francis Lord Cottington was born in 1576; in 1605 was appointed Secretary to Sir C. Cornwallis, Ambassador to Spain; in 1614 was Clerk of the Council; was sent on a mission to Spain soon afterwards; was created a Baronet in 1622; was chosen to accompany Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to Spain in 1623; in 1629 was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in the winter of that year Ambassador to Spain, from whence he returned in March 1631, when he was created Baron Cottington. He also held the office of Master of the Court of Wards; was one of the Committee of State, and Constable of the Tower, which last office he soon resigned. He was Lord High Treasurer during the civil wars. In 1649, he and Sir Edward Hyde went as Ambassadors Extraordinary to Spain, where, on the expiration of the embassy in 1651, he obtained permission to remain. He died professing the Roman Catholic faith, at Valladolid, in the 77th year of his age.

² Robert Long was Secretary to the Prince of Wales's Council in the West in 1645. After the death of Charles I. he was sworn one of the young King's Council, and his Secretary, but was deprived of this office when Charles II. visited Scotland; re-appointed after the King's return to the Continent; and again deprived in 1652. After the Restoration he was made a Baronet, and Auditor of the Exchequer. Died, 1673.

obstruccōn, w^{ch} we apprehend and feare may have an ill influence upon his M^{ty}s service.

It seemes that on Sunday night (w^{ch} was Whitsunday here, and the 5th of this moneth) the agent employed by the rebells arrived at this court (though for our parts we heard of his cōming into this towne, and of his going out of this world, almost in the same minute) and yesterday about 12 of the clock when he was at dinner, some gentlemen rusht into the chamber, and suddenly kill'd both him and an Italian who came wth him as an interpreter, and was they say an apostate Franciscan Fryar. There are since taken and imprysond for the fact 4 English gentlemen, one Major Halsey, Cap^t Progers, Cap^t Guilliams, and one Mr. Sparke, and a Scotch man who was the Earle of Craford's trumpeter. The three former came into this kingdome shortly after the warrs were done in England, and have since served this King in Catalonia. They were all taken out of a church, whither it seems they had retyred after the act was committed. All that we can heare of it, upon such an enquiry as we can make, is that a Welchman who served the agent, and was the third man in the roome, says, that a man in a gray suite came into the roome, and seemed to make very low salutaōns towards the agent, who thereupon rysing and stooping to resalute him, the man in gray wth one hand caught the agent by the hayre of the head, and wth the other hand drawing a dagger stroke him wth it till he fell. Two others at the same time cōming into the roome, one of them wounded the Italian wth a sword or a dagger, who thereupon ranne into the next roome, and was there found dead. You will easily beleieve that an account of soe unusual and unherd of a nature, wth all its circumstances, in a place of soe orderly and strict governm^t as this court is, gives notable occasion of discourse, and brings a proporcionable part of trouble to us, who escape not the censure or suspicōn of unskilfull or malicious persons, of having contributed or consented to the remouall of a person whose presence in this court we might beleive would re-

flect to the dishon^r or preiudice of our master. But we hope his Catholique Ma^{ty} (to whom we have already made applica^{ti}on, to vindicate ourselves from any such unworthy insinua^{ti}ons) will not entertayne any preiudice towards us of that kinde; and a short time, and the examina^{ti}ons and proceedings against these men (who we beleive will be prosecuted wth great rigour and seuerity) will easily manifest how senselesse and impossible those calumnyes are. We did before performe our dutyes in presenting to his Catholique Ma^{ty} such considera^{ti}ons upon this subiect as we thought necessary for our masters hon^r and interest, of w^{ch} we gave an account to the King by our former dispatches; and we received soe gracious an assurance from his Catholique M^{ty} of the great tendernesse he hath of the hon^r of our Master, and y^t he would not voutsafe the least countenance, in his recep^{ti}on of this man, y^t might but be interpreted to his preiudice, that we are heartily sorry he was not let alone to dispatch the business he came about, since, we are confident, the little countenance he would have found here would have brought a much greater advantage to the King, then the taking away so inconsiderable a varlett in such a manner can doe: and it is very probable this unseasonable, indiscreete fury may, on the contrary, worke upon y^e spiritt and temper of this people, who are iealous of the viola^{ti}on of their publique justice, at least to the delaying of some expressions of kindnesse towards the King, which we hoped speedily to draw them to. You will present our humble duty to his Ma^{ty}, and acquaint him wth this accident, of w^{ch} wee can say noe more at present, but y^t we are like to haue trouble and vexa^{ti}on enough, and of another kinde, by this occasion, then we expected. When we know more you shall heare againe from,

S^r yours, &c.

7th of June. ¹

Endorsed by Sir E. Hyde — " Our letter of
the 7 June to Sec^y Longe upon the death
of the Agent.

XXXIII.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,

IF it had concerned the sauing of our lives we could not haue used more diligence to have given your Highnesse an account of ourselves, then we have done since our coming into this court, and, since your Highnesse being at Lisbonne, hauing sent our letters to some trusty merchants, in those ports of Spayne, from whence ther was most probability to transmitt them, and having sent others into France, from whence we conceive y^e comerce wth Lisbonne was not soe difficult: and yet I am not at all confident that any of those letters are come to your hands, and therefore doe againe informe your Highnesse, that we have not omitted on our part since our being here, *very earnestly to presse this King that the flete under your Highnesse comand may have full liberty of all his Ma^{ty} ports¹; to w^{ch} they answered, that they shall haue all liberty granted by the Articles of the the Treaty (which is noe more then to make cleane and victuall) and to the purpose, letters haue been sent to the Governo^r of the severall ports, and, upon a last desire and complaint of ours, they doe now promise us to reenforce those Prs to Flanders. But the truth is, though I am perswaded that they doe wish y^e King well, and in their hearts perfectly abhorr the rebels, yet they are soe absolutely afraide of them, and doe promise themselves such mighty advantage, by their ioyning wth them in a warr against France and Portugall, of*

¹ No part of this letter is in cypher. The parts printed in Italics are underlined in the manuscript.

w^{ch} they have given them *good instances*, that *they dare not publicly avow any kindnesse for our Master*, soe that we haue yet only received *good words*, and *great promises of what they would doe if they had a peace wth France*; and really till then they are not able to doe any great matter, being in greater *necessityes and distraçcons* then can be easily imagined, w^{ch} the rebels in England very well knowe, and use them upon all occasions wth *wonderfull insolence and imperiousnesse*; as lately, since y^e death of their agent they have writt such a l^re to this King to *demaund iustice* as sufficiently informs him upon what *humble tearmes*, and *submission* on his part he must expect to *preserve freindship wth them*. And indeede that *businessse* troubles this people much, there being a *judgm^t* already that y^e prisoners be returned to the Church; and they believe that a *very severe proceeding* upon them will be very odious abroad, and not very popular at home; soe that the *poore gentlemen*, I doubt, may continue long in pryson, till it be discerned what fortune his Ma^{tie} is like to runne, w^{ch} delay I beleeeve will be hardly pardoned by those at Westminster. This is all the account I can give your Highnesse of what had reference to the publique in this place.

Give me leave now to say a little to you concerning myselfe, presuming y^t you have still reserved in your princely breast some *gratious inclynaçon* to me. When we were first designed for this service, the Kinge assigned to us such a *proporçon* out of the money we procured for his Ma^{tie} from the Arch Duke, as would serve to bring us hither, and as we thought, support us 4 or 5 moneths here; and, in y^t time, I was persuaded that the honour of this people would supply the King in such a manner, as we might likewise thereby have been reasonably provided for. But as our stay in France was much longer than we expected, and the charge of the journey infinitely beyond what we imagined, soe we have been noe lesse disappointed in our dependence upon this people. In a word S^r, we have have been, and still are ex-

posed to as many scandalous wants and necessities, as our enemyes can wish: but against these I looke for noe other releife then what we shall be able to gett here, and, as soone as may be, to disentangle myselfe from this imploym^t, of w^{ch}, and of the place, and of the people I am sufficiently weary.

There is another trouble that lyes much nearer my heart, and w^{ch} makes me giue this vexa^on to your Highnesse. When I came hether I left my wife and children at Antwerpe, where I did hope they would haue been able to haue subsisted till my returne, or till I could haue removed them to some other place: but my stay here hath been much longer then I hoped it would have been, and they, being both disappointed of what they expected from me, and of what they were promised from other persons, are I hear fallen into such necessities as are easier apprehended then expressed; nor do I know any way under Heaven to preserve them from starving, (since returning into England would be as bad to them as starving) except by your Highnesse favour: and whether your Highnesse be in a condi^on, after so long and great a distresse as the flecte must haue layen under, I know not, only I am willing to flatter myselfe wth an opinion that if it may consist wth your more urgent affayres, your Highnesse will not be unwilling to oblige me in a matter that soe nearley concerns me; and I am therefore an humble suitor to your Highnesse, if still it may not produce a greater inconvenience to you then any considira^on of me can weigh downe, that you will voutsafe to transmitt some supply to my wife at Antwerpe, w^{ch} may support her 4 or 5 moneths, in w^{ch} time I hope to make some provision for her; and wherever this letter shall find your Highnesse, if there be no other obstruc^on then the difficulty of making a returne to Antwerpe, I presume your Highnesse direc^on to any agent or marchant trusted by you in France or Holland will be sufficient. And now S^r I must very humbly aske your pardon for this presump^on, w^{ch} noe necessity could have raised me to wthout the conscience of being very entirely devoted to your Highnesse

service, and the confidence of being in some degree accepted by you as

S^r your Highnesse
Most humble and most obedient
servant,
(No Signature.)

Madrid,
19th of Oct. 1650.

XXXIV.

MASSONET¹ to ROBERT LONG.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

RIGHT HONORABLE.

I RECEIVED Sunday last your Honors letters of the 10th of this month and deliuered the inclosed to M^r Mason, who hauing promised me to returne an answer and to informe you of the French newes, I waited hitherto for the same. I intended to send you the papers you commanded me to transcribe presently after the receipt of yours; but seeing your Honor hath been pleased to order it otherwise, I shall follow your directions, and deliuer them to some of our court who intend to repaire into England, as soone as the armies are remoued from about this place,

¹ Lord Clarendon says of Massonet, that he had served under Long, "and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions during the time of the King's being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester; and being released with the rest of the King's servants, had been employed from the time of the King's return in the same service under the Chancellor," (Sir E. Hyde) "the man having before the troubles taught the King and the Duke of York and the rest of the King's children to write, being indeed the best writer for the fairness of the hand of any man in that time."—Clar. Hist. Reb. vii. 71. This favourable report of his penmanship is fully confirmed by the original letter in the Bodleian Library, from which the above is printed.

which they are now about to doe: but whether I shall intrust Mr. Seymô or Mr. Poley with them, I am not resolved, though I conceive the last to be the surest. As for the Lady Morton who goes with them, her intimate acquaintance with the Chancello^r make me to mistrust her more than the others. I meete here with few of your friends, yet I finde still a good affection towards you in my Lord Wentworth; and my Lord Gerard¹ speakes very well of you; and I doubt not but if wee were remoued from this place, you should find many that would be ready to serue you who are fearefull at present to appeare on your behalfe. If ever it come within my reach I shall doe your Honor that faithfull service that an honest servant owes to his injured master; and if you be pleased to take notice of what I write now, you may chance to meete with a faire occasion to prove some about his Ma^{ty} not so true to him as they professe, and who are your enemies. I shall not for the present expresse his name.

A mayde that waited formerly on my wife, both at Yorke and at Oxford, hath since about two yeares agoe served Cromwell, and liued lately at my Lady Salisbury, from whence she is likewise gone. When I was last in London, she swore to me that she brought in priuately to Cromwell's bedchamber a gentleman² whom no man in court can belieue to haue been in England these 6 yeares; and when I laughed at it as if she had been mistaken, she presently named his man who then attended on him, and whom she knew at Oxford; and besides described perfectly the master. At this relation there was present one Mr. Eudell who did formerly serue the late Lord Falkland. If you please to giue direction to some of your friends in London to see her, and examine her more particularly about this,

¹ Charles Gerard, created Lord Gerard by Charles I., raised a regiment of foot and a troop of horse, and distinguished himself in the King's service during the civil war. He was created Earl of Macclesfield, July 23. 1679. Died January 7. 1694.

² Sir E. Hyde.

lett them freely use my name. They shall find her, if they inquire, at John Grismonds a printer in Iuy Lane neare S^t Pauls Church, for Captaine Wharton, in whose house in S^t Martin's Lane she lived about my comming away from London. As for Eudell he will be found in Drury Lane, at the Nagges Head, almost ouer against Clares house. When your Honor shall know the parties name you will wounder, and think it almost impossible. If the visit is true your Honor may doe in ¹ good service to his Ma^{ty} and take vengeance of an adversary. I humbly craue your pardon that I trouble your Honor with this tedious discourse. but I thinke myselfe oblidge to acquaint yo^r Honor with this busines, which I could hardly haue expressed in fewer lines. I dare not open my mouth here about it, least I be accused to be the invento^r thereof: therefore I pray you not to lett it come to light, untill you are better satisfied from London.

I humbly pray you to honor me with your commands, and I shall serue you with a great deuotion, as your high fauours and kindnesses oblige me to be

Yo^r Honors

Most humble most obedient and most
dutifull servant,

MASSONET G.

I pray you to lett me know whether Mr. Louing had the commissions I writt in Scotland.

Paris, May 16. 1652.

¹ Torn out.

XXXV.

SIR EDWARD HYDE to SIR RICHARD BROWNE.¹

[From the original letter in the possession of Mr. Upcott.]

As far as I can know what is done with the Marq. of Castelnœ² (for havinge once broke my minde I have done, and it is the parte of others to looke after it, who neither neede nor desyre my assistance), all is done, or at least they believe so, which they desyre; and I have often desyred you to write of that particular to those (either S^r J. Berkeley³ or Mr. Bennett⁴) who will be then obliged to give you some accounte, though Mr. Holder⁵ be the person on whom they rely, for all that concerns his roy. High.: and when I told the Duke, in the presence of M^r Bennett, since the receipt of yours, that I conceive the discharge from the Marq. was not yett arryved at Brest, M^r Bennett sayd he had received the day before a letter

¹ Sir Richard Browne (created a Baronet in 1644), was in 1640 one of the Clerks of the Privy Council; was sent the same year on a mission to the Elector Palatine; and in the following year to the Court of France. At the date of this letter he was the Resident of Charles II. at the French Court; and had gone to Brest to make arrangements respecting the sale of prizes brought into that port by English ships, and the recovery of Admiralty droits for Charles II. and the Duke of York.

² M. de Castelnau was Governor of Brest.

³ Sir John Berkeley had been Governor to the Duke of York.

⁴ Henry Bennet (afterwards Earl of Arlington) was born 1618; began official life as Under Secretary to Lord Digby; Secretary of State in 1643; served and was wounded in the civil wars; during the exile of the royal family was Secretary to the Duke of York; was knighted in March, 1658, and soon afterwards sent on a mission to Spain, where he remained till after the Restoration; succeeded Nicholas as Secretary of State in October, 1662; was created Baron Arlington, of Arlington in Middlesex, March 14. 1664; was created Earl of Arlington and a Knight of the Garter in 1672; was sent one of the Plenipotentiaries in 1672 to Utrecht, and in 1673 to Cologne; was impeached in 1674, but acquitted; and the same year was made Lord Chamberlain, to which office he was re-appointed on the accession of James II. He died July 28. 1685, aged 67.

⁵ Holder was Secretary to Prince Rupert, and agent for the captors.

from Mr. Holder (I suppose by the same post), by which he could not absolutely conclude that all was done which was wished, but he understoode it to importe that sense; so I had no more to say. For all that concerns the Duke of Yorke, why does not S^r G^e Carterett communicate freely with M^r Holder, as in the sale of the frygates and other such accounts, that it may evidently and manifestly appear to him that the Duke hath his right? I know well that all his Ma^{ty} interest in the frygates, which was not before assigned to S^r G^e Carterett, was by the Kinge given to the Duke; and by the way, it is made matter of great wonder that all that shall come but to 40 pistolls or thereabouts, upon accounte of the shares growinge out of the pryzes which have been taken, of which his Ma^{ty} had never any account; but that may be gone to¹, for aught I know. God preserve you both. I am

Your very affectionate, humble

Serv^t,

E. H.

Paris, this 1 of March.

S^r R. Browne. 1659.

XXXVI.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

[In the possession of Mr. Upcott.]

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 21 of this month, and have attended his Ma^{ty} for his further direc^{ti}ons, concerning the goods which are seized on at Nantes, and I finde y^t his Ma^{ty} is informed that y^e Mareschall² hath caused those goods to be seized for satisfac^{ti}on of some debts due to him

¹ Too.

² The Mareschal de Melleray, the Governor of Nantes.

from the persons who clayme a right in those goods, and he intends to proceede legally for the recovery of the same; and that he hath desired his Ma^{ty}, to whom he hath always pay'd all due regard, not to interpose further than for what doth immediately concern himselfe and his brother y^e Duke of Yorke; whereupon his Ma^{ty} hath comāded me to signify unto you, that you are not to make instance in his Ma^{ty's} name for the discharge of any of the goods soe seized, save only those w^{ch} you shall make appear to have been accepted at Brest for the fifteenth and tenths, and therefore doe in truth belong to himself and his brother, and that you doe not interpose for the rest. This being all that I have in comānd from his Ma^{ty} in this particular,

I rest your very affectionate,
humble servant,

EDW^d HYDE.¹

Paris, 28 June 1653.

Sir Richard Browne.

XXXVII.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.²

From the original letter in the possession of Mr. Upcott.]

Paris, this 28 of June.³

SIR,

It was not possible for his Ma^{ty} *uppon the great instance of P. R.*⁴ to refuse to send this command to you. You know well how much *P. R.*, and consequently *the K.*, doth at present depende *uppon Card. Maz'ne*⁵, who indeede protects the ships at Nantes even against the French Court. What

Only the signature of this letter is in the handwriting of Sir E. Hyde.

² This was a private letter accompanying the preceding official letter on the same subject.

³ 1653.

⁴ Prince Rupert.

⁵ Mazarine.

will be the end of that businesse God knows; I am sure I know nothing of the matter. I have some reason to imagine that the *Marshall his designe* is rather against 155 than 203; however the pretence is such as can not be replied to: thirfore the way must be, that when the allegations and pretences *of 598 are* publique, the persons wronged state the case playnely by way of petition to his Ma^{ty}, in such expressions that no exceptions can be taken to it, and then I shall doe all the service I can. And whatsoever you write to me of this argument, lett it be in a letter a parte, that I may reade it to any body. The Kinge hath written to the same purpose to Marshall Melleray as I have done to you, a copy whereof I herewith send you, as ther is likewise a copy sent to him of my letter to you. God be thanked, good Sir Rich^d Foster¹ is in a way of recovery. I had not forgott your old preten^{as}, and shall upon all occasyons put his Ma^{ty} in minde of it, *after with better success when we are gone from hence*; and therefore I shall be very glad that there may be no occayson of mentioning it whilst we are heare. You shall doe well to make your accounts, and have them always ready by you; but do not send them till they are requyred; and have then likewise by you a short state^t of your owne condition, what is due to you from the Kinge, and what you are indebted in Paris. When you have enough *wine* in your hand, and that you are willinge to *quitt with it*, send me worde of it, and *how much you are willinge to spare*; and if at any tyme any warrant to that purpose should come to you by any other hande (which I suppose cannot), pause till you advertise me of it. Wee talke of going still, but no tyme appointed, nor money ready. You shall know more as soon as it shall be knowne to your ser^t,
E. H.

¹ Sir Richard Foster was keeper of the King's privy purse.

XXXVIII.

ROBERT LONG to SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]WORTHY S^r,

I HAVE lately received yours of the 12th of July from Breda, and am very glad to know that you are well and in these parts. It is most true, that I have been advertised what you write concerning Chancellor Hide, and I know that there is a person in England who hath affirmed the same to another person, now on this side the sea, from w^{ch} person I had it. You know that in the condition I now am, and haveing been soe much wronged by Hide as I have been, it will not be seasonable for mee to present, or but to appeare in an accusation against him, because it will looke like malice and revenge rather than the discovery of a truth; and I doe not see, how the busines can be publicly managed, without calling mee to it. Besides, that other person that must be my witness is now soe in the power of Hide, that he can destroy him when he will, and therefore will not dare to appeare, but hath besought mee to be silent for the present. I must intreate you therefore to forbear stirring this busines, till you and I meete, and concert it better. In the meane time, if you please, and have a fitt opportunity, you may privately informe the King what you have heard, as out of duty to him; but humbly desire his Ma^{ties} secresy in it, untill some further discovery can be made; but doe not name mee, nor any author for the present on this side the sea, but referre all to the maid in England who was then Cromwell's servant, and whose name is Elizabeth Hodges; and if the King will be at the charge of her coming over, I believe shee may be per-

swaded to come; and I think I know where shee is to be found, haveing now been long out of Cromwell's service. This maid you may only name to the King for the present, but by noe meanes mee or any other author: the more privately you doe this the better, and the lesse you speake of it to others, and the more you conjure the King to secresy, and be thought to doe it only out of duty, the more effect it will have with the King. I am

S^r, your most humble servant,

ROB. LONG.

Leyden, the 28th July, 1653.

To my honored friend,
S^r Richard Greenville,
Kn^t. Present these.

Copia vera,
GEO LANE.

Endorsed by Long — "Copy of my letter to
Sir Rich. Greenville, given me by Mr. Lane.
January."

XXXIX.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE to MR. LONG.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

I MUST trouble you the more tediously, having receaved y^rs of the 18 — 7^{br} and also a lett^r from my L^d of Ormond (dated 19 — 7^{br}) in answ^r of myne to his Ma^{tie} of 12 August: its contents are thus: —

"His Ma^{tie} having y^e 21 of last moneth rec^d a lett^r from
"you of 12 of y^e same, hath commanded me to signify his
"pleasure to you. He conceives the advertism^t you give
"him to be, one way or other, of great concernm^t to his
"affaires. It is therefore his express pleasure y^t imme-
"diately after receipt of those his comands, you not onelie

“signifie unto him y^e name of y^t friend who first hinted
 “to you y^t Chancellor Hide, before he came last to Paris,
 “made a step into England, and there had private con-
 “ference with Cromwell, but y^t you also send his Ma^{ty}
 “y^e lett^r you received from a person in Holland, in con-
 “firmation of y^e report. His Ma^{ty} farther pleasure is y^t
 “with like speed you declare unto him y^e names of those
 “persons y^t said M^r Chancellor Hide a long time had a
 “pension from England for intelligence. In all w^{ch} his
 “Ma^{ty} expects ready obedience from you, to y^e end he may
 “y^e the better judge of this matter, & take such farther
 “course as he shall conceive best for his service.”

The strictness of this command made me (as my duty) to return this answer : first, y^t Colonel Windham first hinted to me y^t Hide was with Cromwell in England; and he said you understood more thereof. Afterwards, from Breda, I desired you by letter to let me understand (if possibly) y^e truth thereof; and you returned the answer contained in yo^r letter, w^{ch} therewith I sent, because so commanded. Also y^e names of some of the persons w^{ch} said ‘Hide hath a pension from England, &c.’ — I say heard it so spoken by my L^d of Derry, Colonel Keynes, Mr. Francois Camel at Paris, and divers others not to be named, because I charged not my memory with it to name y^e persons certainly. But as I writ now, since my coming into these partes, am induced to beleeve Hide hath a good pension paid him from England, because its a known truth y^t his estate known cannot defray y^e 10th part of the monies, w^{ch} now, and for divers late years, have maintained his wife and children, at a higher rate of expense, than any else can live at w^{ch} are out of England, and known to relate to his Ma^{ty} service. Such are the contents of my letter in answe^r sent to my Lord of Ormond; before w^{ch} I named not you nor any author, as may be seene by his to me. The comand to send yo^r letter am I sorry for, and could not well avoyd it, but hope it may prove advantageous to

you, its contents having nothing in it unfit to be known to the King, but rather the contrary. The sequell I expect, and pray you advise me what shall follow in its due time; for so fatte a Hide ought to be well tanned, and my endeavours shall not be omitted, & I wish could any way serve you, for I am

Sir, y^r most faithfull and humble servant,

RIC. GRENVILLE.

Superscribed. — "A Monsieur, Mons^r Long, chez le Sieur David Noble, Rue Herbiere, a Rouen."

Endorsed. — "Grenville to Long. Oct. 5. 1653."

XL.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE TO ROBERT LONG.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Breda, 22 8^{br} 53.

S^r,

Yours of 16 curr^t came this day; my form^r of 5 curr^t you had, as by yo^{rs}, whereby I advised of my actions; as first voluntary writing to y^e King, to discover Hides falsehood (as reported): and therein was not any person named, more then Hyde, Cromwell, and Hodges: also I writ you of the Kings strict and particular comands to name persons; and also to send him y^e lett^r I said had received from a person in Holland, confirming y^e report of Hydes being in England with Cromwell: w^{ch} lett^r being yo^{rs} troubled mee not a little to send it, but on such comand could not loyally refuse it, and so sent it, as formerly I writ it you, by y^e same post and time w^{ch} carried that for the King. Sooner was not in my pow^r to advise it you.

Since understand not more thereof, then¹ what you now had writt. All I shall know hereaft' thereof will advise it you by y^e first meanes. Confident am I yo^r letter cannot prejudice you by a just judgem^t; rather may it be to yo^r advantage, and so beleewe will happen; y^e icce being so broken, Hydes workes must sinck, if rightly cannot swim. For my first advise of it to y^e King, sent it by the safest meanes known, and it seems came well to him, though sick when received it, w^{ch} caused its delay y^e longer for answ^r: however, its probable this beginning, with what I shall covet to adde, may sinck Hyde's hyde; so much for present. Wee had it, and have it confirm'd, y^t last week y^e Assembly of y^e Estates Generall at Amsterdam are resolved to engage the warre agst y^e English, and to undertake y^e King's right; toward w^{ch} will speedily send for their commissioners from out of England: and will speed away Lieu^t Generall Middleton with arms and munition for Scotland, promising to send more what they want. I am so hastened to conclude, and ever to be,

S^r,

Yo^r most humble servant,

RD. GRENVILE.

A Monsieur, Mons^r Robert Long, Gentilhomme
Anglois, a Leyden.

XLI.

ROBERT LONG to CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

December, 23, 1653^r

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA ,

I HAVE been informed by a person that will justify it, that
S^r Edward Hyde was accus'd about 3 moneths since or

¹ Than.

more, of two things; — the one of having been with Cromwell in England; — the other of having a pension from the rebels, w^{ch} I take to be treason; and I do not know that he hath yet ever publicly justified himself, as I conceive is necessary for your Ma^{ty} security, w^{ch} is the reason that mov'd me to speake what I did the other night.

The hearing of this made me reflect upon something that not long since he lett fall in discourse to me (w^{ch} caus'd the former to make a greater impression upon me), of great injustice and injury to your Ma^{ty} person and hon^r, as I conceive; for I having said to him that the kings ministers and himself in particular, did suffer much in the opinion of the world for the little industry that was us'd in his Ma^{ty} business, he thereupon replyed that it was a sad thing that men would judge of the managing of business by the guesse; that the king was given to pleasure, like other young men of 23 or 24 years old, and that I knew how indisposed and unactive he was; w^{ch} I thought to be words of great malice and iniquity from a counsellor, and great want of duety to excuse himself by casting imputations on your Ma^{ty}; w^{ch} made me reply, that neyther I nor any else could without much wickedness believe that of the king, because his Ma^{ty} had given such eminent testimony to the contrary, by his actions both in Scotland and England.

XLII.

ROBERT LONG to CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r MAJ^{ty}.

THOUGH the consideraõn of S^r Ed. Hydes great power and malice (the effects whereof lye already so heavy upon me¹)

¹ The circumstances which led to the removal of Long from the office of secretary (which removal he attributes to Sir Edward Hyde) are not described in the

might justly discourage me to deliver my testimony against him, and may give me cause to apprehend that

History of the Rebellion. The first allusion to them is to be found in a letter from Hyde to Nicholas, written from Paris, dated January 20, 1652. "Here hath happened an odd accident within these three or four days, of which no doubt you will hear discourse enough, and therefore need not take notice of it from me. As soon as Mr. Long was taken notice of to be here, one Colonel Wogan brought the King an information in writing, to which he offered to take his oath that it was true upon his own knowledge, that the advance of the army to Torrington (after which we never made resistance in the west) at so unseasonable a time of the year, when the enemy had positively resolved to act no more that winter, and to that purpose had sent all their horse to their winter quarters, proceeded merely from a letter which Mr. Long had sent to Ireton; the particulars of which letter he sets down in his information, which indeed contains the true state of the Kings condition then, and the distractions and divisions in his army and council, and the purpose of transporting the Prince out of England. The credit of the person who informs (who it seems hath served the King very gallantly since he left the rebels service) hath wrought so far upon his Majesty, that after the Colonel had before Mr. Longs face, in his Majesty's presence, charged and accused Mr. Long (there being none by but my Lord Lieutenant and myself), his Majesty hath suspended him from any trust in his councils, and appointed him presently to deliver his papers to my Lord Lieutenant and to me; and whilst we were receiving them, Mr. Pooley came to him from the King to demand the seals. Mr. Long makes great profession of his innocence, and hopes to make it appear, and I hope he will do so; in the mean time you see how his condition stands, and I assure you my Lord Lieutenant and I have no easy province." *Clar. State Papers*, iii. 48-4. Long's accuser, Col. Wogan, has left a narrative of the Proceedings of the new-moulded Army from the time they were brought together in 1645 till the Kings going to the Isle of Wight in 1647, in the course of which he thus alludes to the treachery with which Long was subsequently charged. "Our General had got intelligence from the Prince of Wales's army to this purpose, that there were divisions in the Kings army, and that there was a falling out between the Lord Hopton and Sir Richard Grenville; that their Princes council was divided; that the Prince was intending privately to leave the kingdom; that if our army would advance speedily, and take the present advantage they might have by reason of those distractions, he might without doubt have his desire. A council of war was called and the letter read, but first the name was torn out." *Carte's Letters*, i. 139. Hyde mentions this subject again in a letter to Nicholas from Paris, on the 16th of February, 1652, as follows. "The Colonel" (Wogan) was indeed in Holland, and met the King at Helvoetsluys, but never had a dispatch from Mr. Long, nor ever saw him in his life till the day before he gave this information; and excused himself from not sending advice of it, because he did not know that he remained with the King. The Colonel hath a good character from those who know him, and is very positive in the affirmation, and Mr. Long behaves himself as ill in the defence, but really appears as much fool as knave; no doubt the King will have no more to do with him." *Clar. State Papers*, iii. 47.

what I shall now say may by his arts and subtilities rather bring prejudice upon me, then advance the truth against him; yet in obedience to yo^r Ma^{ty} command, w^{ch} I received the last night about 9 o'clock, I humbly certify that the letter whereof I have received a copy from M^r Lane, was written by me to S^r Rich. Greenville upon his earnest desire in a letter to me, to be informed in that particular of S^r Edw. Hyde having beene in England wth Cromwell; but it was written in private confidence to a friend, and not intended for publique view.

It doth appeare by that letter, and is I believe otherwise well knowne to yo^r Ma^{ty}, that I am not the author of this information, neither am I the accuser of S^r Edw. Hyde (w^{ch} part I leave to S^r Richard Greenville, who hath already accused him of this, and of another particular); my intention being, as appeares by my letter, privately to informe yo^r Ma^{ty}, and not publicquely to accuse S^r Edw. Hyde: and now, by yo^r Ma^{ty} command, I only signify what I can further say in proove of the allegations of my letter, as well by the originall matter of fact, as by the incidents and circumstances of the whole business.

As I was not the author of this information, so it is a thing I did not seeke, but it was casually and unexpectedly advertised to me, as a particular, from w^{ch} I might derive some consolation to my selfe, in that misfortune w^{ch} was then fallen upon me, when I saw that a person, who would be thought the most upright of all others, was accused of as great a crime as I then was (for I make no difference between going to a rebell, and writing to him, but that going to him is worse, and comprehensive of much more evill); and this advertisement being accompanied wth such circonstances as made me believe it might be true, I did desire yo^r Ma^{ty} should know it, and so know it, that it might make at least so much impression in you as to produce a full examination of the matter, to the end that if S^r Ed. Hyde be guilty, yo^r Ma^{ty} may secure

yo^r selfe; and if he be innocent, you may acquit him: though that be a justice he will not affoorde to me.

Concerning the truth of the fact, I have been informed, that a woman who formerly served Cromwell did affirme in England, to two persons at once, that she had brought S^r Ed. Hyde early in a morning privately to Cromwell; and both those persons telling her severall times that she was mistaken, and that what she said could not be true, she persisted positively to affirme, that it was true, saying that she knew S^r Edw. Hyde, as well as either of them, but especially M^r. Edgeman, who was then with him, and had formerly made love to her in Oxford, and did so particularly describe them both, that the two persons that heard her, did believe she spake the truth. But he that informed me doth not well remember the time she said S^r Ed. Hyde was brought to Cromwell by her. The name of the woman is mistaken in my letter to S^r R^d. Greenville, w^{ch} was written in Holland, where I then had not the originall advertisem^t by me; for I call her Elizabeth Hodges, but her name is Elizabeth Haughton: however I am confident this mistake could not hinder M^r. Edgeman to know whom I meant, considering his former familiarity wth Elizabeth Haughton; and that he could not but know that it was she that was in Cromwell's service. I will not take upon me to determine of the truth or falsehood of this information; but I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{ty} to give me leave to observe such circumstances in this matter, especially in the carriage of it by S^r Ed. Hyde, as are evidently faulty, and whatsoever the merit of the case shall fall out to be, doe in y^e meane time bring great suspicion upon him: and this I shall doe by representing to y^r Ma^{ty} the difference of the proceedings in my case, by the counsell and advice of S^r Ed. Hyde (for I cannot imagine him so uningenuous, so undutifull and unfaithfull to y^r Ma^{ty} as to deny what he advised, and to cast the envy of his

counsell upon yo^r Ma^{ty}), and those he hath now thought fitt to use in his owne case.

1. The accusaõn against me was presented Sunday, and I was called upon Tuesday or Wednesday following, so that all was dispatched and made publique in 2 or 3 dayes. But this accusation hath been kept secret ever since the 21st of August, w^{ch} is now 4 months; at least I have not heard that it hath by S^r Ed. Hyde beene communicated to the body of yo^r Ma^{ty} counsell, untill a few days since, and not then neither, till publique infamy and common discourse at a table enforced him to it.

2. The accusaõn against me was managed by persons that were no friends to me, as the effects have plainly showne; and during the examinaõn was concealed from me. But this hath been managed by himselfe, or by his privity, as is most probable: for I appeale to my Lord of Ormond, and to his own ingenuity, whether he hath not been acquainted with all that hath past in it from the very beginning, and most likely advised, or concerted what was to be done; and who will ever be guilty that hath the managing of his owne accusaõn?

3. As soone as I was call'd and the accusaõn read to me, and before I had time given me to make my answer, I was commanded to deliver up yo^r Ma^{ty} papers and seales, and told that yo^r Ma^{ty} could not trust me any more; and this I am certaine by the advise and designe of Ed. Hyde; and he did not only give this advise to yo^r Ma^{ty}, but in discourse with me, told me also, that my L^d of Ormond, and himselfe had both considered what they would doe if they should be accused as I was; and that they had both concurr'd in an opinion, that they ought in modesty to deliver up all trusts to yo^r Ma^{ty}, and to sequester themselves from your pñce¹ and affaires. But now the case is come indeed to be his owne, it is evident that he is so farre

¹ Sic: probably "presence."

from thinking fit that he should be commanded to resigne his trusts, or from using that pretended modesty of withdrawing himselfe, that on the contrary, he hath never beene more assiduous in yo^r Ma^{ty} presence, more frequently in long discourses wth you, nor more eminently busy in your affaires, then during all the time that he hath layne under the accusa^õn; though it be at least as likely as that against me, and of as dangerous a consequence. Whence 'tis obvious to collect, that though his maximes be severe for other men, yet they are easie enough for himselfe; and that he thinks it just that he should be acquitted, though his accusa^õn be neither examined, nor publicly heard; and that I should not be heard at all, to the end I may not be acquitted though I be innocent.

4. There is another particular, w^{ch} as I conceive brings suspicion upon S^r Ed. Hyde, w^{ch} is, that there being an offer in my letter, and I believe in the first from S^r Rich. Greenville, to bring over the person that affirms to have been an eye witnes, and to have brought S^r Ed. Hyde to Cromwell, and whose testimony can only acquit or condemn him, that he hath in all this time used no endea^v to have her brought over accordingly; especially it being so proposed in my letter, that it might have been done privately, without any scandall to himselfe, or danger to the person that was to come: for as his fervo^r in this particular would have been a great argument of his confidence and innocence, so his remisnes and negligence in it, convinces him of such a feare, as really is not without great suspicion: for I appeale to yo^r Maj^{ty} & yo^r councill, if Colonell Wogan had offered to bring over Davis, to justify that the letter was mine, whether I had not been obliged to presse with all imaginable instance that it might be done accordingly, and to contribute all that was in my power towards it: and whether S^r Ed. Hyde hath not as great an obliga^õn lying upon him in this case. And really, though I doe not say S^r Ed. Hyde is guilty, or

hath done any such thing, yet a guilty person might in all this time have so corrupted the woman, that either she will not be found, or will not come, or will not speake the truth when she doth come: besides the business being now made publique, who will dare, that hath any relations in England, to come over hether to give a testimony of this nature, except upon very good assurance of at least as good a subsistence here as they had in England?

According to the practise of all nations, barbarous and civil; according to the lawes of all kingdomes, states, and civil societies in the world, but especially by those of your Ma^{ty} owne kingdomes and dominions, every man that is accused ought to be heard, and to be acquitted, if he be innocent: which is a thing so universally true, and so much of common right, that it cannot with any colour of justice be refused to any man, in any case, upon any pretence whatsoever.

I therefore humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{ty} that S^r Ed. Hyde (whom I take to be the principal person that hath at this time, for his owne ends, opposed my humble addresse to be heard, and hath beene the adviser of all the former proceedings against me), be now required to answer publicly and directly before your Ma^{ty} and your Councell, if he conceive it just, being presently sequestred from yo^r Ma^{ty}'s presence Councell, trusts and employments (as I humbly conceive he ought to be), and having put in his answer to the accusations, that he be never permitted to be further heard, nor ever obtaine any declaration whether he be guilty or innocent, but be deprived of his place, dismiss'd with disgrace from yo^r Ma^{ty}'s service, and be left under the suspicion of the crimes he is now accus'd of, and thereby condemn'd in the opinion of the world.

If he doth not thinke this just in his owne case, I humbly desire he be required to answer, why then he thought it just, and advised it in mine.

If he deny he gave that advice, yo^r M^{ty}'s knowledge, and

his owne conscience will convince him; besides I can prove by euident consequences that he did.

If he doe not avow his aduice, I shall only say whosoever gives any counsell to your Ma^{ty}, especially in matters of justice, which he dares not, or will not owne, 'tis shrewdly to be suspected, that either the man, or his counsell, or both, are corrupt and naught. But he that aduiseth unjust things, and then persuades yo^r Ma^{ty} to owne his aduice, as proceeding immediately from yo^r selfe, doth not only endeaour to cast that envy upon yo^r Ma^{ty} w^{ch} he desires to decline himselfe, but doth abuse his trust and yo^r Ma^{ty}s confidence in the highest degree, and really deserves what in modesty I will forbear to say.

I hope therefore that S^r Ed. Hyde will descend into his owne heart, and confesse his iniquity and injustice; and humbly deprecate that the like proceedings he aduised against me, be not now used against himselfe.

I humbly beseech your Ma^{ty} to belieue that I doe not make the least reflection upon yo^r Ma^{ty} in any thing I have said, or charge you with any injustice for any thing that I have suffered: I haue so great an assurance of yo^r Ma^{ty}s vertue, and so much deuotion and duty for you in my heart, that I cannot be capable of any such thought.

I know it is maxime of the law of England, that the King can doe no wrong, w^{ch} notwithstanding I conceive is not to be understood as if the King could doe nothing materially a wrong, or materially unjust or injurious (for that certainly is a perfection granted to no mortall man), but that when any wrong is done, the King is not to be charged with it, but those that gave the counsell or are ministers in the execution of it. I doubt not but that yo^r Ma^{ty}, or any other Prince, may doe a thing materially unjust, and yet not be guilty of injustice; because having taken aduice with those you reasonably ought to aduise withall, and then proceeding candidly according to the information and counsell you haue received, the iniquity

lyes upon them that gaue the councell and information (if unjust), and not upon yo^r Ma^{ty}. But whosoever endeavours to persuade yo^r Ma^{ty} to owne his unjust aduice, doth as farre as in him lyeth, cast the injustice upon yo^r Ma^{ty} by transferring his owne iniquity upon you. On the other side, I humbly conceiue that when yo^r Ma^{ty} is better informed and aduised, you are obliged by the lawes of God, and those of your owne kingdomes also (as they are directiue, though not coerciue to yo^r Ma^{ty} actions), to doe right to the party that hath been injur'd by the former ill councell, or misinformation, w^{ch} is all I humbly beg in my case.

I therefore most humbly beseech y^r Ma^{ty} that I may haue a free, equall, and just hearing before y^r Ma^{ty} and your councell, and that I may be acquitted according to justice; and that S^r Edw. Hyde, who is now under seuerall accusaõns, and some of as high a nature as that against me, may not be one of my judges, nor assist at councell at the hearing of my busines, since I have by y^r Ma^{ty}s command now given this information against him, and that he is well knowne to be my implacable enemie.

Although S^r Ed. Hyde, in his proceedings against me, hath so highly sinned against that foundation of morall honesty, against that common law of mankind, whereby euery man is obliged to doe unto another as he would desire to haue it done unto himselfe in the like case; yet, because I know I must not take a measure for my actions or opinions from the iniquity of his, and am sure I am obliged to governe my selfe by other rules and principles then those he walkes by, I most humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{ty} that the accusations against him be duely examined by indifferent persons, and that he be fully heard in his defence; and be acquitted by yo^r Ma^{ty}s sentence, and the judgem^t of your councell, if there shall appeare no cause to the contrary.

I humbly desire I may be admitted to make my reply to

what S^r Ed. Hyde shall answer in these particulars, especially in what relates to my selfe and his proceedings against me.

XLIII.

MAJOR WOOD¹ to THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

London, February the 3^d. 1659.²

M^r COLES,

I MUST advise you of the illness of trade here, and the likeness of its continuance by reason of our allmost dayly new troubles. Upon Wenesday night last Lamberts reg^{mt} of foote would not march to give way for Monkes men, but mutined for their pay. Thorseday 3 other foote reg^{mts} and some troopes of horse did the same, most of them beatinge their officers from their comādes. I was at severall of their gardes and garrisons, where I heard some crye for a free parli^{mt}, and many for a kinge. The cavilliers had a great opportunity, and doubtles some of them had formed some halfe digested designe. The seclused members would have bin medlinge, but were too fine fingered, and the citty was all together prudentiall, except some few boys that beat up their drumms at the Exchange, retyred to Leaden-Hall, where about a dozen of them were taken, and stripped by Okeys horse.

¹ Seven Letters from Major Wood to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, containing intelligence from England between February 1658 and May 1660, are printed among the Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 430. 479. 688. 695. 730-3. Major Wood is probably the same person who is mentioned under the designation of *Colonel Wood*, in a letter dated April 11. 1657 (Thurloe's State Papers, vi. 158.), as being sent over by the royalists to England.

² 1660.

Last night the mutiniers were promised to be payd a monethes meanes, this day before noone. S^t John lends 4000l, and Hasellrige borrowes 30000l of some particular citizens. This morning the mutiniers were drawn out to receave theire moneys, w^{ch} I suppose they did; but they have highe discontentes amongst them, and have so vsed their masters to mutynes, that there is neyther love nor trust amongst them, and wee may rationally expect from them shortly some chainge. Monke, I am told, is come into towne, and the gunns from the Tower speak it. He says he is promised to be made geñerallissimo. The speaker tould a frend of myne, that yeasterday they had done the worst piece of worke that they had don this 7 yeares, and had bounde themselves under an oath of secrecy.

Lambert had a hand in the mutiny, and sent the day before to *Brown* to desire his assistance, appollogising much for the error of his iudgm^{nt}. His eyes being now opened, he was resolved to make some amends, and to cast himselfe at the kings feet. *Sir W. Waller and Harlow* were active in this mutiny, and *S^r W. Waller* went to the citty desiring them to joyne with the army, w^{ch} they refuse by re^{ason} it was more safe to joyne with *Monke* then with an army in mutiny. The business I writt you of last poast, wherein *M^r Noy* was concerned, I suppose was included in the mutiny. Here is a report that many letters of one *M^r Mordants* are taken, and 3 of them allready vncyphered. They were taken 12 or 14 days since, as they say. I shall say at present noe more but that I am

S^r, y^r assured friend and servant,

940.

I am of opinion, that if any poppular person had headed the mutiniers, they mought have done what they pleased wth the rumpe, and citty.

Hazollrige has settled 5000l £ aūn. vpon his 2^d sonne,
and marry'd him to the widdow Rich, Cromwells daughter.

For M^r Gregory Coles, these.

Endorsed by Lord Ch^r Hyde, "Major Wood
3-13 Feb. 1660-59."

XLIV.

MR. SAMBORNE¹ TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

24 February. 59.²

TWENTY ships that Lawson³ brought up the river against Fleetwoods and Lamberts party are in Tilbury hope. These are not fitt to goe to sea againe, nor will the men goe without their arreares of pay, w^{ch} of some of them is very great : 16 more were rig'd at Chatham by Lamberts faction to Lawson. They lye still there without comandrs, and in much disorder : there is not in all their stores wherewith to set out six more, nor sayles for one. Beefe and porke was provided in good quantity about Michaelmas, as though they have but little victual aboard, they may be supplied from London, if they can finde money or credit. Besides these, there are six or eight ships in or about the Downes, and as many more in the west. Montague⁴ hath

¹ Eleven letters of intelligence from England from Mr. Samborne to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, in the years 1659 and 1660, are printed in the third volume of the Clarendon State Papers.

² 1660.

³ Sir John Lawson, a native of Hull, of humble extraction, distinguished himself in the naval service during the Protectorate, and was made an admiral. He died of wounds received in the sea fight between the English and Dutch fleets in June, 1665.

⁴ Edward Montague served during the civil wars on the side of the Parliament, and was engaged in many of the principal actions ; took office as a Lord of the Treasury under Cromwell in 1653 ; afterwards commanded in the fleet

no more interest in the seamen. Lawson is voted vice admiral, not out of favour or trust in him, but to keepe the flecte in order till they gett money to pacify them.

My freind was told in private by a reasonable good hand, that Monkes proceeding was a mistery to surprise the Rump, and is yet to amuse the Spaniard, that they might get the King from them before they declare absolutely. If this have any grownd in it, you will soone know more about it then I: however, whether true or noe, my opinion is that the King ought to come as neere as he can in this coniuncture. I conceive Bruges were a proper place for his Ma^y: two dayes journey neerer may be of infinite importance; for vndoubtedly messengers will be sent every day, and from thence the King may quickly goe to Dunkirke or Holland as there shall be occasion. His Ma^y may remove under pretence of having correspondence in Dunkirke. There is noe doubt of things going well here, whether Monke be reall or noe. The chief Lords are privately invited to be of the councell of state, w^{ch} they have refused to accept from the House of Co^mons, yet they have appointed a meeting here.

Endorsed by L^d Ch^r Hyde — "Mr. Samborne,
Feb. 24. 1660."

with Blake, and after his death had the sole command; was instrumental in effecting the restoration of Charles II., and brought him over in his own ship. After the Restoration he was created Earl of Sandwich; was made a privy councillor, master of the wardrobe, admiral of the narrow seas, and lieutenant-admiral to the Duke of York. He commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean and on the coast of Spain and Portugal soon after the Restoration; acted as proxy for Charles II., and brought to England the Infanta Catherine; served in the Dutch wars; was sent ambassador to Madrid in 1666; was killed May 29. 1672, by the blowing up of his ship, at the battle of Solebay, where he was vice-admiral under the Duke of York.

XLV¹.TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.¹[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]London, March 3^d, 1660.

PLEASE to wash the middle of the back page, and there will a line appeare that divides the two pages, w^{ch} are to be uncyphered, just as this. The many changes of late, with the business of Willis², has of late much hindered Gibs from his serving the King and L^d Chancelor, as he heartily desires. Pray begg my pardon, for truly it has been rather want of power then good will. There now seeme to be all humane appearances that the King cannot be kept out of his throne one moneth longer, w^{ch} God grant. This is the first night that Thurloe sitts in the councell as Secretary of State: hee, S^t John, Montague, and that

¹ The name of the writer of this letter is not known. It is endorsed "M^r Harrison;" but it is evidently written by a man. A letter, probably from the same person, headed "M^r Harrison (——) to the King," will be found in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. p. 703.

² Sir Richard Willis, one of the "Sealed Knot," the betrayer of the Royalists. For an account of his treachery, see Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vii. 324 — 329. On the 9th of May, 1660, when the Restoration of the King was no longer doubtful, he addressed the following letter to the Lord Chancellor Hyde: — "My Lord. If I were a person that either intended to avow or persist in any error of my life, or one that were down-right so ill a Christian, subject, or friend, as the uncharitableness of my enemies have described me to be, I should not have the confidence to beseech your Lordship to intercede for me; but being as I am an humble and forsaken suppliant, casting my life and all at his Majesty's feet, I hope your Lordship will please to think me a fit object of your compassion; and that I by his Majesty's royal bounty may share in the benefit of his generous pardon and protection, which, as it will pull this sharp thorn of grief out of my heart, so will it remain to me and mine as an eternal mark of your Lordships generosity bestowed upon your Lordships, &c. &c." — *Clar. State Papers*, iii. 743.

The editors state in a note that "there is in the British Museum a petition of this person to the King many years after the Restoration, by which it appears he continued under that contempt his conduct so justly deserved."

caball have been of late finding a way to let Dic. Cromwell in againe. Monke, I verily beleeeve now, is a blunderer, and has no sett designe; and the citty have now gott the militia into their hands, and its probable will not pay a farthing till they have a King; and its thought they have invited the King already; but pray have a great care of his Royal Person above all. By my next I will be more particular, and, if I dare, will send the same way; if not, I will send by the way of France. Pray send all yours to Gibs by France, and give me an addresse for Paris by the next. Last night Willis gave Gibs a visite of three hours long: at first he made heavy complaints of his sad misfortune, telling Gibs that the King would come in in spite of the world, and if he should be discovered it would cost him his life, and be a blott upon his posterity for ever; and if any should be so cruell, they must needs loose their reputation, for being as false to him, as he had been to the King; and he took Gibs to be soe much a gentleman, that he would never doe it. He sayd withall, that there was only Thurloe, and one Morland, and myselfe privy to the busines, and that those two had given him letters under their hands to cleere him; and then shewed Gibs the letters. When Gibs had read them, he told Willis, that indeed what Morland had written was something, but Thurloes was so scanty, that it was rather a ground of jealousy vpon him than anything else. Gibs added divers circumstances touching Thurloe, & Dic. Richard; but I rather fastened all upon the last, & did so farr fix it upon his beleefe, that upon parting he shooke me by the hand, and weeping for joy, sayd to me as follows:—S^r, this nights discourse has more comforted me then thousands of gold and silver; if I had a thousand lives, I would put all in your hands. I see now my wound comes from Richard: however I beg you to deale so with Thurloe, that I may, if any be, sent over to treat betweene the King and the Parliament; & if I doe not at the same

time procure yours & Thurloes pardon from the King, then let me perish; but let not Thurloe know this motion comes from me. I know the Parliament must send one, and, as I hope to be saved, I can gett better conditions then any man in England, and whoever he be that is sent. Let yours to me be thus superscribed, viz. wash the next page for it. I send you nothing that is in print unlesse you desire I should. It is very late.

Endorsed by L^d C^b Hyde—"M^{rs} Harrison,
March 3. 1660."

XLVI.

MR. SAMBORNE TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

9 March.

MONTAGUE is to go to sea with 23 shippes, which will bee ready about 10 dayes hence. Lawson endeavours to make a mutiny among the seamen, but there is noe great danger of any thing hee can doe. By the next I will send you a list of the shippes and their commanders, which will bee all moderate men, *but there will be noe gaining any of them without Montague, who I believe will be honest.*

The Parliaments having in a manner declared for the King by ordering the printing of the Couenant, and setting it vpp in all churches and in the house, has much startled the armyes, as well G^l Monks as the other. Ouerton, in Hull, has declared against the present power; soe has some about Chester and North Wales. And yesterday G^l Monk's officers brought to him a remonstrance against a single person. They were high on both sides, but the Gen^l stout and discreete behaviour has quelled them for the present; yett tis feared wee shall have some combustions, *w^{ch} makes*

well for the King ; for some of the chief Presbyterians exprest great bitternesse against the Kings party, especially against his counsell, and would insist upon rigid conditions with the King ; but now their feare of the army makes them more mild. Let not the King loose any time in his preparations, at all events. It is all ouer the towne heere that the King is gone into France, which I cannot beleeeve. I heare alsoe the Irish have sent to the King. If they bee reasonable, the King would doe well to agree with them a part from these, and so devide them as much as he can. Lockhart has received 4 thousand pounds, & is to have 6 more, and then to returne to Dunkirke. His instructions I know not.

Endorsed by L^d Ch^r Hyde—"M^r Samborne.
March 9th 1660."

XLVII.

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

London, March 16. 1660.

THIS afternoon the Parliament dissolved ; the act for the militia in all countys being first printed & published. Monke, being put upon by some humoursome men, writt a letter to the house a little before they rose, to stopp the publishing the sayd act ; but the letter was layd aside, and nothing done upon it. In a few dayes we shall see how the game will goe. If the discontented part of the officers can compass their ends, we shall yet be in blood for a time, though it is hardly possible they should doe any thing to the purpose, unlesse it be to give the King an opportunity of coming in freely without any conditions, while they are

¹ The name of the writer of this letter is not known.

struggling. However they have a declaration ready, if they can get Monke to sett his hand to it, against the King and that line, or a House of Lords.

Montague goes to sea the beginning of the next weeke. Lawson is in the Downes, & carrys faire to him till he have an opportunity to shew his teeth. Montague has quite left Thurloe, S^t John, & all that caball, & cleaves to his father in law, Crew, Pierpoint, and the rest, for the King upon conditions. He told yesterday an intimate frend of his & mine, y^t he was now for the settlement of the King, though he knew he must be a great sufferer by it. Thurloe is semper idem; but I hope his hornes will never grow so long as formerly to push the Kings friends. S^t John is a great pike that's loath to be beaten into the nett. He & Thurloe have been labouring of late to blow up the sectarys and discontented officers, but I hope it will come to nothing. Noe letters from Ireland these two last posts: Jones¹, Coote², and Broughill³, are the chief actors there. Soe farr as we understand they are all there disposed for the King.

Endorsed by L^d Ch^r Hyde — "1660. March 16."

XLVIII.

MR. SAMBORNE TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

I HAVE yours of the 19th, and know you to be soe full of businesse, that I expect noe more then to know myne are

¹ Sir Theophilus Jones, a disbanded officer, who led the successful enterprise of seizing the Castle of Dublin. Dec. 13. 1659.

² Sir Charles Coote, President of Connaught; after the Restoration created Earl of Monrath, and one of the Lord Justices.

³ Lord Broghill, President of Munster; after the Restoration created Earl of Orrery, and one of the Lord Justices.

received, unlesse you have something to command mee. Since my last Lawson has made his submission, where vpon hee and all his captaines, save one, are continued in employment. Montague is gone downe to the fleete to give orders, but returnes againe, for most of the shippes will not yet bee ready these 8 or ten dayes. I send you a list of the shippes and their commanders; those marked with crosses are Annabaptists; few of them all were formerly better than gunners and shipp carpenters; men that have noe sence of honour or conscience, that will change with the winde, and keepe to of the strongest side as the most profitable.

You at that distance may well thinke our proceedings heere to bee riddles, since wee vpon the place doe the like. I shall tell you my sence of them. Those contradictions are bones cast among them by a discontented party in the house, as that concerning *Hampton Court*, w^{ch} *if granted would cause iealosy, if denyed would disoblege Monke*. I now begin to have a better opinion of Monke, for he is noe foole, and he must now doe the King's business, or he has undone his owne. The ill temper of his army may well excuse his walking hitherto in the darke.

Mr. Hollis is lately come to towne and sitts in the house. The Rump has the greatest part of both armys on their side, and bragg that they will doe greate matters suddenly. The Gen^l in the mean time labours to prevent the disorders threatned by his owne army. This day tis expected the house shall dissolve. *I wish the King could land in any part of*¹ *with 3 or 4 thousand men; the reputation of it would suddenly doe his busines without a blow.* Coll Tuke² I heare is malliciously dilligent heere to prejudice L^d Ormond, your

¹ Sic. in orig. "England" is probably the word omitted.

² Sir Samuel Tuke, Colonel in the King's service during the civil war, and afterwards engaged in the rising in Essex under Capel, Lucas, and Lisle. In 1658 he became a proselyte to the Church of Rome. He was a cousin of Evelyn, the author of "Silva." — He died Jan. 26. 1673.

Lo^p, and L^d Bristoll, in the opinions of every body. I beseech you cause *my patent to be past before the King goes thence.*

Endorsed by L^d Ch^r Hyde — “ Mr. Samborne,
March 16th 1660.

XLIX.

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MONTAGUE is this morning gone for the Downes. Lawson is at Gravesend expecting orders, and carries faire, but in truth hopes the Sectarys may gett up againe, & then he is sure to be one, if he can but make a party. There is in the army, here and in the countreys, a very discontented party, who will probably resist to blood, before the King can come in; and though this Councell of State have prohibited their meetings, yet they find wayes of a correspondence. Whaly is a great stickler against the King, and Goff another; but the sume of all is this, if the Kings friends be the strongest party in the next Parliament, he surely wins the day, and the opposers will be too weak. God Almighty grant that we may see that day. Thurloe and St. Johns begin to be very sick of this already, and there has been caballing of late to sett up Monke or Richard.

Letters from Ireland speake but darkely. Their Convention still sits: they lately sent to expresses to signify their adhering to the late declaration of the officers there: they likewise sent a list of officers for Ireland; but its thought the Councell of State will alter it, and desire their Convention to dissolve. Coote, Jones, Broughill,

¹ The name of the writer of this letter is not known.

and Clotworthy are the main men, and their designe is to bring Ireland into the same posture as before 49. Yesterday the writts were proclaymed for a Parliament, upon w^{ch} all depends. This Councell of State has noe other designe then to secure all things till the next Parliament, and to help to back the Parl^{mt} with the Presbiterians, who will I feare lay very hard upon the King, as to conditions, being a cinical generation. Old Noll's Wife sends often for Thurloe. She would faine see Dick up againe.

I forgott to tell you in my last, that Thurloe told Gibs lately, that if the King marryed Manchini¹, it would be the best news he ever heard in his life; for (said he) that would be the only meanes to unite all partys against the King. Thurloe was first S^r Gamalaell Capell's butlers man, then S^r W^m Massams clearke, then S^t John's man; and when S^t Johns had beaten something into him with trenchers, w^{ch} he often threw at his head, he then gott him first Clearke, and then Secretary to the old Councell of State, where Noll mett with him, and gave him the key of his juglers box. I can assure you that in all the series of old Noll's projects, when ever there was the least difficulty and danger, S^t Johns was his constant Achitophell, and either was visited by, or visited Thurloe or him every night, sometimes till past midnight: and yet he pretends the contrary, and would be accounted innocent; but he is the most deadly enemy the King has in England. What Monk is, God knows. He comes once a day into the Councell of State. Time will discover whether he be a wise man or a foole. He lately wish'd his right hand might rott off if he were reconcileable to the King.

Endorsed by L^d Ch^r Hyde — "1660. March 23^d."

¹ M^{lle} Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarin.

L.

MAJOR WOOD TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

London, March 30, 1660.

S^r,

Two dayes since I writt you by *Massy's* servant, and this is to the same purpose. Vpon the 27th p'sent, I was tould from a sure hand, that this day fortnight, *L^d Mordant* sent *M^r Rumball* to the King to doe his best to destroy you. He is to engage you with keeping intelligence with *Thurloe*, and, to make it good, hath carryed two men along with him, to justify their seeing of severall of your letters to him; also that you have for many yeares received a pention of 4000 pounds per year. *M^r Carrant* and *M^r Scot*, I heare, are upon the same imployment. Pray God p'serve you from this horrid conspiracy. I must desire you to conceale from whome you rec^d this accompt, least I loose my intelligence hereafter, & thereby made less able to serve you. I much want a good addresse: *L^d Mordant* helps me not as formerly. Pray let me have y^r directions how in the above sayd affaire I may best serve you, whoe am desirous of noething more then in mānyfesting myselfe to be,

S^r, y^r most faythfull

& humble servant.

940. 925.

To day I am tould *L^d Mordant* went hence for y^r partes upon Munday last, but first he consulted wth the Duke of Buckingham, who is very iocunde.

For my Lo^d Ch.Endorsed by Lord Ch^r Hyde—

"Ma: Wood, March 30, 1660."

LI.

LADY MORDANT¹ TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

March 30. 1660.

MY LORD,

I HOPE, before this, *my deare Lord will be with you, & then you will finde I have served you to him; for, as I believe you ar before now conuincd that he hath interest to serve you, so I dow assure you that he hath will & resolutions to doe it, & hathe alredy mayd a fare progresse in it.* What you intimated to me, at parting, concerning the getting these people to propose Holland as the fittest place for treaty, I have carefully endeavoured with my Lord, according to my power, ever since I came to him. *He hath promoted it, and now effected it, as before this I suppose you know, and as I writt you word in my last he would doe, and this not without great temptations to the contrary; for if the courtship, and all the promises & offers imaginable of being whatsoever he would himselfe propose, could have prevailed with him to have gott the sceane of this business in France, I could not then have affected what I promised to serve you in, that is, to have persuaded him to pitch upon Holland.* But indeed, *my Lord, he is a person not to be lead away by any thing of his owne interest, but doth allwayes that w^{ch} he thinkes best for the Kings advantage, and in this hath absolutely followed your desire and advice by me: & pray cherish such a freind, and now you have him with you, loose noe occasion to confirme him to what I have assured from you, that is, the firmnesse of your friendship, and that you relye upon none but him; for I find that the belefe that you*

¹ Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, mentions Lady Mordaunt as "a young beautifull lady, of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity " of wit and humour, who concurred with him" (Lord Mordaunt) "in all "honourable dedications of himself."—Hist. Reb. vii. 344.

mayd vse of severall pepull, whom you depended upon more then on him, did you preiudice with him, and mayd him thinke you could not be a good freind ; but I haue convinced him of the contrary, and if you make not good what I haue asurd him you are the unworthiest person breathing ; for his owne inclenation and judgment, and his kindnesse to me and you, hath prevailed with him in this great busines of bringing the King in to Holland ; for you had been absolutely ruined if he had hearkened to the other proposition : and truly they went wisely to worke, for they very well found where the interest lay, and apply-ed wholly to him ; for they saw it was in no one bodys power to turne the scales but his : but all their great baites prevayled not as you see. Pray be carefull in this, and lete it remaine as the greatest secret imaginable ; for if the least of this take ayre, I shall loose my power to serve you. Pray hasten my Lord back with all the speed imaginable, for he is already so wanted here that is not to be exprest ; for this very day I am sent to from the Speaker, who desires to treat with him, and St. John's doth the same, and, you know, if he is taken off, the Kings condition and his freinds will be more easy. And by this you may judg how extremely preiudiciall his stay will be : therefore I leve it to your carre to hasten him all you can. Send me my Lord Whartons pardon. You must be careful how you name these persons, for if any thing of this should be writt back to any other body, and the letters taken & diseyphered, it would ruine all. S^r Allen Apsly¹ hath been with me, and desires me to convey you this inclosed. I finde him to be a very worthy person. I hade not bin thus free, but that I know no body hath this cypher but you ; so that it only passeth between you and me ; and how much I am your frind I suppose you know, and, upon my word, you will find my Lord the same, if you be firme to him ; and this you may

¹ Sir Allen Apsley was a zealous royalist; served during the civil wars; commanded the garrison at Barnstaple in 1645; after the Restoration was made Falconer to the King, and Almoner to the Duke of York; was M. P. for Thetford in 1661. Died in 1683.

depend on, and you will find all I say to be just and trew by the euent.

I cannot omit telling you that *the two M^r Ashburnhams, and S^r Thomas Ingrame*, and sume outhers whos nams I have forgot, *are employed by the Queene here*, and pretend to great power from the King, and are this day sending over S^r William Davenant¹ to the King. Pray lete not such persons be countenanced, for they doe great hurt here; so if the King do not trust them, pray signephi so much in a letter, that I may show it to one of the leading men here, whow will not beleve but that they are impowered from the King, and checks at it. Pray my Lord get the King to write a very kind letter to L^d Oxford² by my Lord, for he is very kind to my Lord; but some ill people that love to doe mischiff indeuer to poses him that the King is not kind to him, which trubells him: this I am sure of, but you must not take notis that you have resevd such an advice.

Bruxels.

For 951.

Endorsed by L^d Ch^r Hyde—

"Lady Mordant, March 30. 1660."

LII.³

THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE TO CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library. *In the Lord Chancellor Hyde's Handwriting.*]

It will not be fitt that the letters go in any hande but your owne, and as unfitt that the reason be knowne,

¹ Sir William Davenant, author of *Gondibert*, and other poetic and dramatic works; born 1605; died 1668.

² Aubrey de Vere, 20th Earl of Oxford; one of the six Peers deputed together with twelve members of the House of Commons, to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, and present "the humble invitation and supplication of the Parliament that his Majesty would please to return, and take the government of the kingdom into his hands."

³ This letter is without date: it was probably written in April 1660.

which would fill them with a thousand apprehensions. If you are well enough to write them before 7 of the clocke, it will be well enough, otherwise Barnarde Greenuill¹ may be kept till the next; and before he be dispatched, it will be necessary you do that businesse concerninge himselfe with your brother, and as obliegingly as is possible.

I pray lett me know your resolution, that, if he go not, I may send away my packett by Capt. Mewes.

(no signature.)

Directed—"For the King."

Endorsed by the L^d Ch^r Hyde—
"To the King, at Breda. 1660."



LIII.²

LORD MORDAUNT³ to THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

THOUGH I am from my heart sorry to find you so particularly shot at, yet I have some satisfaction, that when

¹ Bernard Grenville, brother of Sir John Grenville. He was entrusted with a private letter to the King.

² A very small portion of this letter has been already published in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. p. 738. That portion is reprinted here, in order that the whole may be read together. The reprinted portion may be distinguished by the modernised spelling.

³ John Mordaunt, younger son of the first Earl of Peterborough, and brother of the second Earl, was created, in 1659, Baron Mordaunt of Reigate, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon. After the Restoration, he was made K. G., Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, and Constable of Windsor Castle, which office he held till his death. In 1667, he was impeached by the House of Commons for forcible ejection of William Tayleur and his family from apartments occupied by them in Windsor Castle, and for alleged misconduct towards Tayleur's daughter. He put in an answer; but the inquiry was dropped. He died in 1675.

'twill be evident you are so, I may have occasion of appearing your friend: I use that term because I would have you expect from me all the offices that name obliges me to. But from this to the matter: by stories artificially related both to the General and his Lady, your enemies have possessed them both with a very ill opinion of you, which has shewed itself by several bitter expressions only lately uttered at St James's. This is honestly intended, & not officiousness, to excite in you any consideration of me more than you have, and no ways to exasperate or make you ill with those great ones. I look on Manchester as the prime author of this, who is set on from beyond sea. I am the more confirmed of this since the message the House of Lords sent to the Commons, to desire them to add Manchester to the others as a Commissioner of the Seal. The pernicious effects that were intended by this I need not descant on to your Lordship, who well knows, though the Legislative power may remain in the King, Lords, and Commons, that the Executive was never questioned to be in the King; and, though the name may be allowed him, how little that will signify, when he parts with the Militia and Seal, I need not say.

This first message was seconded by that of the Militia, both which were so pressd, the Commons very distastfully refused. Your Lo^{pp} now sees whether those faithfull advertisements I have so often presumd to send his Ma^{ty} were frivolous or noe, or whether they proceeded from duty to my Prince, or private dislikes. No my L^d, God knowes my soule; did I not plainely see how this wicked designe is managed, I would not name any of those L^{ds} to their preiudice; but I am soe certaine they intend a change of Governement, that should I make all the nation my enemy I would not conceale it; and whoever tells you either Northumberland, or Manchester, or Say, or Wharton will bee made the Kings, I am well assured hee understands them not, or abuses you. I am plaine in the case,

though I know that within few days the General seemes kind to M^r¹, and, it may bee, will grow kinder upon¹ account, who has a great hand with Monke.

Your Lo^{pp} may please to remember, I have not been at all over confident since my returne, excepting only of the integrity and honor of the General, of which I can never make question in the least; but for the manner of carrying on this great worke, neither your good old freind the Earle of Southampton, nor your humble servant can say, tis their opinion the conduct of it may not have some things in it disputeable. Last weeke I sent you word, it then cleereley lay in the Generalls power to restore the King without termes; but, last weeke is not this weeke, neither did he strike whilst the iron was hot. My opinion is his interest lessens againe, and that the officers are not unanimous though subscribers, and how farr the good Generall may bee wrought upon I know not; but I am confident, either he must owne the King yet farther, or he may owne him too late. What to say concerning the Kings returne hither is soe nice a point, God direct you.

The Committee appointed to draw up the two bills, to bee sent to his Ma^{ty}, have trangressed the limitations given them, and foisted in the Court of Wards. Tis soe ill a president, that, how those bills will bee clogged, I dare not venter to iudge, nor whether twill bee his Ma^{ty}s interest to signe them. I am sure, by the same rule, that they may insert what they please, since they would not bee tyed up to the heads of the Ordination. This inconvenience I forsaw, but could not prevent: in fine, my L^d, they intend to send severall proposalls to the King, which will delay time, and in that time they prepare I feare for something else, in case the King refuses to satisfy them. This is plaine and out of con-

¹ Illegible.

science and duty, and therefore ought to bee ponderd at least. There were upon sending for the greate seale over, but I was forced to declare I was confident the King would not suffer it to bee in England, and his person at Breda.

We want you heere, for all seems to come into confusion, it being declared wee have now noe government at all. The officers presse to have the bills signed before the King bee sent for. Wee foresee a breach if it spin out in time, and that the King will be put upon terms we abhorre. Now what to advise is difficult, since his Ma^y has soe totally resigned himselfe up to the General, who if misled or perswaded to preiudiciall things, wee are in a very sad condition, to forsee our ruine and know how to prevent it, yet suffer it to come upon us out of duty to the K.'s commands. This point is worthy your serious debate, how farre you will tye us up to the Generalls commands, and likewise whom you will depute to act in the Kings affairs; for since our returne hither I have recourse to the Marquise of Hartford¹, and the Earle of Southampton only, whose commands I obey most willingly, and am every day with them. Want of time makes this a confused letter, but M^r Turner his account will excuse it. Hee is everie day with me, and highly useful, and though I knew him not much before this Parliament, I find him so cordiall that I have a high value for him.

¹ William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford, after the Restoration was restored to the title of Duke of Somerset forfeited by the attainder of his great grandfather the Protector Somerset; was governor to the Prince of Wales before the civil war; was appointed Lieutenant-general of the western parts in 1643; was one of the King's commissioners at Uxbridge; was made K. G. after the Restoration; died 1671. Lord Clarendon says he "was a man of great honour, great interest in fortune and estate, and of an universal esteem over the whole kingdom." Bishop Warburton observes, that at the treaty of Uxbridge, where both parties contended, the one for the divine right of episcopacy, the other for the divine right of presbytery, nobody but Lord Hertford seems to have remembered, what Hooker had previously demonstrated, that no form of church government was *jure divino*, but all *jure humano*.

S^r William Hayward¹ may complaine of mee, but I feere no preiudices can bee done me, since I find my M^r protects mee, and takes mee into his consideration: that, with the full and perfect assurance of your kindnesse, makes mee secure.

The reasons I cannot accept the Citys offer you will find in the K^s letter. Pray answeere this at lardge, and, for my sake, bee kind to Will, who I dare say will receive your favours as gratefully as he did S^r Ed. Herberts. If any complaine of ill offices I have done them to the King, pray doe mee right; for tis unpleasant to be allwise in disputes.

The sales are confirmd here as fully as this Session can do it, and it will bee soe sent to the King to signe. Clargis² I feare has these instructions, that the Oxford L^{ds} shall not sitt, that your Lo^{pps} office be considered, and that the King dispose of severall things to gratify persons heere; but of this I am not yet fully certaine, therefore keepe it to yourself. The act declaring the continuance of this present Par. is in the K.'s letter. Maior Harlow and Morrice³ had a hot dispute last night: the first was possitive for the K's speedy returne, the other against it, and this question disturbs the whole nation. I wish the King had been

¹ Sir William Hayward was M.P. for Bletchingley in the second Parliament under Charles II. His name is to be found among "the principal labourers in the great design of Popery and arbitrary power," in a scarce tract, printed in 1677, attributed to Andrew Marvell, entitled, "*A seasonable Argument to perswade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a new Parliament.*" He is there mentioned as "a Privy-chamber-man," and "a Commissioner in the sale of Fee-farm-rents by which he got 2000*l.*"

² Sir Thomas Clarges, Kt. brother of Anne, wife of General Monk. He was appointed Physician to the army, and was created a Baronet in 1674. Died, 1695.

³ William Morrice; born at Exeter, Nov. 6. 1602. In 1656, he was elected M. P., but was excluded, not being approved of by the Protector's Council. In 1658, he was elected for Newport in Cornwall. Being a friend of Monk, and instrumental in promoting the restoration of Charles II., he was, in M^c. 1660, knighted, sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Secretary of State. In 1661, he was elected M. P. for Plymouth. He resigned the office of Secretary of State in September 1668, and retired from political life. He died Dec. 12. 1676.

heere, some days since, but dare not owne tis my desires now. Pray let what I write you, bee to your selfe, but only make use of what you find concurre with what others doe : really my Lord, all goes ill in my sence.

I am really, my Lord,
Your most humble and most faithfull servant,
MORDANT.

4 May, London.

Endorsed — "Lo. Mord. to the L^d Chancellor.
His enemies — terms intended for the
King &c."

LIV.¹

GENERAL² MONTAGUE to CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTYE,
Y^r most gracious letter of the 4th of Aprill, as also your Mat^{ies} most gracious declaration bearing y^e same date, were sent unto me by Generall Monke yesterdaye morninge; upon the receipt whereoff I immediately called all y^e Co^mmanders of y^e Fleete aboard, and proceeded, as y^r Ma^{ty} will perceive, if you please to vouchsafe y^e perusall of y^e enclosed paper. Generall Monke desired mee that when I had comunicated it to the fleete, I would send a letter to y^e Speaker to have leaue to returne an answer to y^r Ma^{ty}, the which I have done to y^e Speakers of both Houses; and after theire leaue, Gen^l Monke and I shall joyne in a

¹ This is the letter of which Pepys speaks in the following passage : —
" Since my writing of the last paragraph, my Lord called me to him to read
" his letter to the King, to see whether I could find any slips in it or no."
—Pepys, i. 70.

² The appellation " General," was at that time applied to naval as well as to military commanders.

letter to represent unto y^r M^{tie} the most cordiall and perfect loyaltye of y^r Majesties fleete, w^{ch} I assure y^r Ma^{tie} was expressed by all, wth y^e greatest demonstrations of joy and gladnesse that the men or shipps could manifest.

Having y^e opportunity of this gentleman my neighbor in the country, whose frinds and himself have suffered much on y^r Ma^{ties} behalfe, I found myselfe obliged to present y^r Ma^{tie} with this account.

Further newes, y^t I know off considerable is, that y^e House of Lords haue cashiered my L^d of Pembroke¹ & my L^d of Salisbury.²

Just as wee were solemnizing our loyall professions unto y^r Ma^{tie}, M^r Norwood came on board mee, & brought me y^e honer of y^r Ma^{ties} letter of May 10th, wherby I am much rejoyced to understand y^t y^r Ma^{tie} receives y^e respect due unto you from other states, and that y^r Ma^{tie} is soe well resolved not to co^mitt y^r affaires into their power. Assuredly y^r Ma^{tie} needs noe other assistance then y^e hearts and hands of y^r owne people w^{ch} are universally loyall unto you.

Gen^l Monke will better advise y^r Ma^{tie} concerning y^r embarquinge; but, wth submission, I humbly thinke y^r Ma^{tie} hath pitched upon a place, in respect of y^e sea & passage,

¹ Philip Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke, and second Earl of Montgomery, succeeded his father, the fourth Earl of Pembroke, who died Jan. 1650., and who, although a peer, sat in the House of Commons, which his son (who was before a member of that house) also continued to do after his accession to the peerage.

² William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury was made a privy councillor under James I.; was appointed Lord Lieut. of Dorsetshire by Charles I., at the desire of the Parliament; was one of the those who signed the declaration of June 1642, at York, that the King had no intention of war; subsequently became an adherent of the Parliament; was one of the Commissioners sent with propositions of peace in Jan. 1643, to the King at Oxford; was also one of the Commissioners from the Parliament for the treaty at Uxbridge. In 1649, he became one of the parliamentary Commissioners of the Great Seal; and in the same year, the House of Lords being closed, was elected M. P. for Lynn. Clarendon draws a very unfavourable character of him, accusing him of servility, feebleness, and treachery; and adds, "he was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking." See *Clar. Hist. Reb.* iii. 559. Montague's information respecting these noblemen appears to have been erroneous.

the best of any. Nothinge upon earthe am I soe ambitious off, as to have y^e honor of attendinge att y^r feete in y^r prosperous returne to y^r owne dominions, w^{ch} I beseech y^r speedily to grant unto us.

The shipp y^t wafts this gentleman I have ordered to waite at Helvoett Sluys, and to reconvey him for England or such others as shall accompany him, or he desire may have passage ouer. This is in case y^r Ma^{tie} shall not thinke it reasonable yett to honor him wth y^r owne orders & cōmands, w^{ch} nevertheless if you shall please to doe, he will obey them to his life, & soe will I who am soe confounded at y^e gracious expressions of y^r Ma^{ties} goodness towards mee, that I am able to saye noe more in words, but y^e subscription of my selfe in all imaginable truth,

May it please y^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Y^r most loyall, dutifull, faithfull

And obedient subject & servant,

E. MOUNTAGU.

I most humbly and heartily thanke y^r Ma^{tie} for y^t high marke of y^r favor in the picture y^r Ma^{tie} is pleased to honor mee wth.

Nasebye in y^e Downes, May 4. 1660.

Endorsed by L^d Ch. Hyde — “Gra^{ll} Mountagu to the King, May 4-14th 1660.”

LV.

CHARLES II. to GENERAL MONCK.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

GENERALL MONCK — I need say little to you, since I have enformed S^r Tho. Clargis of my purpose, and he will tell

¹ George Monk was born Dec. 6. 1608. ; served first in 1625, under Lord Wimbledon, in an expedition against Spain ; afterwards in an expedition to

you with what difficulty I gett one quarter of an houre to myselfe. I have thought the best I can of the place where I should disembarque, and have heard severall opinions upon it, and upon the whole matter I have resolved, God willing, to land at Dover, and to stay some dayes at Canterbury to put things into as good order as I can. I resolve if please God to embarque on Munday or Tuesday at the farthest, soe that you will be able to judge as well as I when I shall be able to land; but you can hardly immagine the impatience I have to see you, for till then I shall take noe resolution of moment. I pray bring Mr More with you, and beleeeve me to be very heartily

Your affectionate friend.

I have so good an opinion of Generall Penn¹, that if you had not recomended him to me, I would have taken care of all his interests; you may therefore easily undertake to him, that he shall not be satisfyed as you shall desire; and you may likewise undertake to Col^t Muddiford, of whom I have heretofore had a very good opinion, that I will pardon and forgett all that is done amisse.

Endorsed by L^d Ch^r Hyde — "The King to
G^rall Monck. May, 1660."

the Isle of Rhé; during the civil war was employed in military services on the side of the Parliament; served afterwards under Cromwell; was commander-in-chief of the army a short time before the Restoration, which he was chiefly instrumental in bringing to pass. After the Restoration, he was created Duke of Albemarle, sworn of the Privy Council, made a Knight of the Garter, Lord of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Horse. Died Jan. 3. 1670.

¹ Sir William Penn was born 1621; rose rapidly in the navy; was sent by Cromwell, in 1655, in an expedition with Venables to Jamaica; was appointed Commissioner of the Navy, May 31. 1660; was Vice-admiral of England in the first Dutch war; was M. P. for Weymouth, Governor of Kinsale, and Vice-admiral of Munster; was impeached by the House of Commons in 1668, for embezzlement of prize goods. Died Sept. 16. 1670.

LVI.

THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER¹ TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
HYDE.[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

THE world speakes you to be a person of honour and I knowe y^r Lo. to be soe, and that if you say the word y^r Lo. will make good the same. My humble suite therefore to y^r Lo. is but to tell me freely whether you will be my friend in all things ho^bⁱ, just, and fitting; and when I aske of y^r Lo. any thing contrary to eyther of these, then doe not only deny it me, but spitt in my face, having afforded me only patience first to give you my reasons.

Nothing, I am confident, can sett an obstacle to your Lo^{ds} granting me this reasonable request, but an apprehension of the obnoxiousnesse of my religion, as for that such are my abilities to serve not only my Prince but the whole kingdome, that when once knowne in Parliament, and his Ma^{tie} looking but as favourably vpon me as the tenth part of my deserts (pardon me if I say soe) doth require, I will undertake, within few days, there shall be a vote in the very House of Co^mmons to make me capable of any service whereof I may be thought worthy. An other Remora doth perhaps forcably lye in the way, w^h is my sonne the Lord Herberts vnderhand woorking by fals suggestions; but I shall soone blow them over. In a word, if y^r Lo. please to accept of me, I am the most reall and

¹ Edward Somerset, second Marquis of Worcester, celebrated, under his previous title of Earl of Glamorgan, as the negotiator of the secret treaty with the Roman Catholics in Ireland; and as Marquis of Worcester, for his ingenious work, the "Century of Inventions," published in 1665. Died April 3. 1667.

affectionate servant, and as a little token of it, be pleased to accept of Worcester House¹ to live in, farr more comodious for y^r Lo. then where you now are, though not in soe good reparation, but, such as it is, without requiring from y^r Lo. one penny rent² (yet that only knowne between y^r Lo. and me). It is during my life at y^r service, for I am but a tenant in tale; but, were my interest longer, it should be as readily at y^r Lo. coñmand, and I believe I may serve you in some things of tenne times the value; yet I never desire word or deede from y^r Lo. other then according to what I first beganne wth. Be but pleased to deale plainly wth me, and I desire to shew y^r Lo. in the Kings presence or³ if you please, what I intende to produce or say, having had a deerly bought experience what it is to trust to Princes alone. Soe preventing y^r Lo. further trouble, and asking pardon for what I have putt y^r Lo. unto, I only desire to receive a verball answere by this most deserving person M^r White, my antient acquaintance, into whose hands I would deposite the greatest imaginable thresors untould, and intrust in the greatest secrets, without other tye than his acceptance of them.

My Lord,

Your L^{ops}

Most really affectionate and humble servant,

WORCESTER.

June 9th 1660.

For the Right Ho^{ble} the Lord Chancellor,
present these.

¹ Worcester House was situated in the Strand, on the space now occupied by Beaufort Buildings. The Lord Chancellor was at this time occupying Dorset House, in Salisbury Court, once the residence of the Bishops of Salisbury, one of whom alienated it to the Sackville family.

² Notwithstanding this offer, it is stated by Lord Clarendon, that he paid for Worcester House a yearly rent of 500*l*. See *Cont. of Life of Clarendon*, iii. 486.

³ Sic.

LVII.

DR. MORLEY¹, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, to SIR JOHN
LAUDER.

[From the Advocates' Library. *Orig.*]

THERE remains one thing, and but one, which we are not as yet agreed on, namely, whether such as are ordained by Presbyters only, should be instituted by the Bishops, who said they could not, with a safe conscience, commit the cure of soul and administration of the Sacrament to those who they believed to bee noe Priests. Whereunto my Lord Chancellor added, that admitting, but not granting, men soe ordained were priests, yet, not being legally ordained, they could have no right to their tythes. And therefore lawyers as well as divines were to be advised with, what medium or expedient was to be made use of in this particular. I proposed that I have often told you of (*viz.*) an hypotheticall or conditionall ordinance of a Bishop, which implys not a nullity, but only an uncertainty, together with an illegallity of their former pretended ordination, which if it were good the after ordination is a nullity, but if it were not good then the super-ordination is necessary, for that it may doe others good, but it can them noe hurt; and therefore I hope they will be persuaded to yield to it. The Bishop of Sarum² and I are appointed by the King to meet with M^r Calamy & M^r Reynolds, in the presence of M^r Hollis³ and M^r

¹ For a biographical notice of Dr. Morley, see a note in chap. i. of the 1st volume of this work.

² Dr. Hinchman. He was translated to the See of London in 1668.

³ Denzil Hollis, second son of John, first Earl of Clare; was created Baron Hollis in April 1661; was ambassador at the Court of France 1664-5; and one of the two British negotiators of the treaty of Breda in 1667. He died

Anslow¹ to put this agreement in such words as may best express the Kings meaning, which being inserted in their proper places of the Declaration, the Declaration itself will be printed and published before Sunday, which I hope will give abundant satisfaction to the honest and peaceably minded men of both party's, and make them cease to bee parties any longer, but unanimously to joyne against the coñon enemy the Papists, who will grow much more insolent than ever they were if somewhat bee not quickly done to prevent it; for the Queen will bee in England on Munday, which will bee a great countenance and encouragement to them, though I am confident the King would not suffer any thing extraordinary to bee done in their favour;—but of these things we shall have more time to talke more freely hereafter. Farewell. I am,

Your friend & humble serv^t,

E. MORLEY.

Oct. 23. 1660.

in 1680, aged 81. Burnet says, he "was a man of great courage, and "of as great pride;" and "was counnted for many years the head of the "Presbyterian party." "He was a faithful, but a rough friend, and a severe "but fair enemy. He had a true sense of religion; and was a man of an un-"blameable course of life, and of a sound judgment when it was not biassed "by passion." Burnet's Own Times, i. 166, 167.

¹ Arthur Annesley, successively created Baron Annesley, and Earl of Anglesea. Burnet says, "he was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had "the faculty of speaking indefatigably upon every subject: but he spoke "ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery, for he "was always attempting it. He understood our government well, and had "examined far into the original of our constitution. He was capable of great "application; and was a man of a grave deportment; but stuck at nothing, "and was ashamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor trusted by any "man on any side; and he seemed to have no regard to common decencies, "the common decencies of justice and truth, but sold any thing that was in "his power: and sold himself so often, that at last the price fell so low that "he grew useless, because he was so well known that he was universally "despised." Burnet's Own Times, i. 166.

LVIII.

THOMAS MAYNARD¹ to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

THE King of Portugall, and the generallity of this nation, are glad to understand by me that the Portugall ambassador was received by his Ma^{ty}, w^h gives them hopes they shall be made happy by a good peace wth England, w^{ch} is the only thing under Heaven lefte them to keepe them from despaire and ruine. The Spaniard is making greate preparations to invade this kingdom by sea and land; and although the greatest parte of this nation will expose themselves to the greatest hazard for the preservation of their King and country, yett 'tis too true that the Pope has too greate an influence on the clergy, and they have a very greate power over the common people, and if his Ma^{ty} should reject them many of the greate ones would rather think of making their peace with the Kinge of Spain than off fightinge against him: but if his Ma^{tie} conclude a peace wth the Kinge of Portugall, it will very much raise the hearts of this nation. I doe not doubt it

¹ Thomas Maynard was at this time British Consul at Lisbon. He had applied for this situation to Thurloe in 1655 (see Thurloe's State Papers, iv. 268.); and in the following year Cromwell, "by his letters' patent, bearing "date the 27th day of August, constituted and deputed him to be consul "for the English nation in the kingdom of Portugal and the dominions "thereunto belonging," and "thereby granted to him for his salary one half "per cent. on all goods and merchandize imported and brought into Portugal "aforesaid by the subjects of the Commonwealth of England according to "their valuations in the respective custom-houses of Portugal and the do- "minions thereunto belonging, notwithstanding by the recent patents consuls "were allowed but one-fourth per cent." Thurloe, v. 375. He appears to have been the sole English diplomatic agent during the Protectorate, and was charged with the duty of conveying the condolences of "his most serene Highness the Protector" at the Court of Lisbon on the death of John IV. Thurloe, vi. 388. Several of his letters of intelligence to Thurloe are to be found in the 6th and 7th vols. of Thurloe's State Papers.

will be taken into consideration of what consequence the citty of Tangera¹, w^{ch} lyes in the straits mouth on the Barbary syde, may be to his Ma^{tie}; and it had been hinted to me by some ministers of state, that the King of Portugall will parte with it to his Ma^{ty} on reasonable terms. And the interest of this nation in the East India is now rather a charge to them than a benefitt, by reason the Hollanders obstruct their trade altogether in those parts; but how beneficiall Goa and the rest of the King of Portugalls ports in the coasts of Mallabar may be to his Ma^{tie}, I know your Honour is sensible of; especially Ceylon the cynamont Island, w^h notwithstanding the Hollanders have possession of Columba y^e principall place of that island, yett the Portuguese keepe severall fortes, w^h being surrendered to his Ma^{tie}, with the assistance of the natives, that island might be brought under his Ma^{ties} obedience; and consequently that, and the rest of the K. of Portugalls interest in those parts, w^{ch} he cannot keepe long out of the hands of the Hollanders, will prove the moste beneficiallest trade that ever our nation engaged in.

Your Honours moste obedient servant,

THO. MAYNARD.

Lisbon, the 11 No^{ber}, 1660.

¹ Tangier.

LIX.

SIR HENRY BENNET TO CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Madrid, Decembre y^e 8th, 1660.
In M^r Sec^y Nicholas's Cypher.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r MA^{ty},

I WAITED upon Don Louis de Haro¹ upon your Ma^{ty} letter of October the 11th, w^{ch} he was willing I should translate into Spanish, and I as willingly consented to do, for the satisfaction I assured myselfe he would have by it. But, contrary to my expectation, he fell to tell me, how little content the council here was with the Declaration your Ma^{ty} had made in the business of Portugall, and how contrary they found it to many of the articles of the Peace of 1630, lately renewed betwixt the two Crownes, conditioning expressly not to succour the rebells of each other, with much more to this purpose;—to all which I answered, for that time, little more than to shew how much the maintenance of the trade with Portugal imported the good of your Ma^{ty}s kingdoms. But going out from Don Luis, and meeting with his Secretary, I told his sayd Secretary that our acquaintance would priviledge me saying to him what I had forborne in my audience with his master, with whom I supposed your Ma^{ty}e would not allow me to expostulate very sharpely; and having told him what had passed, I concluded either the memory of the councill was very bad, or else they beleevd ours was so, when having kept an Embassad^r in England manie years authorising the rebellion there, and cutting off the head of a gentleman² in the open place here for a deed w^{ch} rather deserved the setting

¹ Prime Minister of the King of Spain.

² Executed for the murder of Ascham.

him up a statue, with other things to this effect, they could now thinke fitt to reproach your Ma^y with the breach of the articles of Peace betwixt the two Crownes; which having say'd, I concluded with giving him leave to let his master know, if he thought fitt, what I had said to him, which he did, and, as I understood since, in a paper of more length then this will be, w^{ch} I suppose he did in that manner that it might be read to the councill, as I am informed it was.

Returning to a second audience with Don Luis, upon pretence to know of him what he would command me to write to your Ma^{tie}, I found him much more gentle than he had been in the former, beginning to aske me, what he had said to me therein, to provoake me to hold such a discourse as I had done with his Secretary, and continuing to say how intirely the King and himself were satisfi'd of your Ma^{ties} good intentions towards this Crowne. He added, that they did not finde it strange at all, your Ma^y should seeke the establishing the continuance of the Trade with Portugall, and that they are here so farr from desiring any diminution in the advantages of your kingdomes and government, that they would be glad (though with any prejudice to themselves) to contribute to the improving of them, concluding, that the only thing they aske of your Ma^y for the present is, that the rebellion of Portugall being now abandoned by all the considerable Potentates of Christendome, and left to a very hopefull and probable subjection by armes, your Ma^y would not suffer it to fomented from your kingdome, by permitting your subjects, under pretence of mainteining the trade, to carry thither any provisions of warr or victualls which may maintaine that kingdome in their obstinacy and rebellion; and that your Ma^y might secure them from this apprehension, by making such a declaration in this poynt, as the Baron de Batteville had already desired, or would propose to this effect.

This I promised to offer to your Ma^y, assuring Don Luis de Haro that he was not at all deceived in the confidence he had of your Ma^{ties} good intentions towards all the advantages

of this Crowne, according to those professions you had made to him at Fuentaravia, and the good reception you had given the Ambassad^r sent from hence; and wth it I cannot excuse telling your Ma^{tie}, that if the foresaid proposition be yet capable of debate, it will ly in your Mat^{ys} Royall hands either to give freely assent to it, and so put upon this crowne a high everlasting obligation, or to . . . ¹ to them for some considerable convenience to your self, it importing them to buy it at almost any rate; which is all becomes me in my low speare to say in so high a matter.

May it please y^r Ma^{ty},

*Your Ma^{ty}

Most humble and most

Obedient subiect and servant,

HENRYE BENNET.

His most Sac^{ed} Ma^{ty}.

Endorsed by the Lord Ch^r Hyde—"8^o Decemb^r, 1660. R. 30. S^r Hen. Bennet. to be reade to his Ma^{tie} in cipher, being in answer of his Ma^{ty}'s of 11^o 8th 1660."

LX.²

6mb

+ SIR ORLANDO BRIDGEMAN³ to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

SIR,

YESTERNIGHT the 2 persons whose examinations I send you enclosed came to me, as they sayd, from yourself.

¹ Illegible.

² This letter was written 26 days before Venner's insurrection.

³ Sir Orlando Bridgman was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, June 1. 1660; and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, October 22. 1660. He succeeded Lord Clarendon as Lord Chancellor in 1667. North says, "He had been a celebrated lawyer, and sat with high esteem in the place of Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The removing him from thence to the Chancery did not at all contribute any increase to his fame, but rather the contrary, for he was timorous to an impotence, and that not mended by his great age. He laboured very much to please every body, and that is a temper of ill consequence in a Judge." North's *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, i. 174. In the *Life of James II.*, vol. i. 429., and Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 428., he is similarly described.

When I understood the nature of the businesse, though I guessed they were mistaken, and should have gone to my Lord Chief Justice Foster¹, yet I thought it not fit to discourage them or delay the matter, and therefore tooke their informations: howsoever they make not a false discovery, yet I humbly conceive they are not to be neglected. There is scarce any designe discovered, but at first there are only glimmerings—these half lights before the designe itself comes to light. Leicester offers himself to goe to Wapping as a disguised person, and converse with some of the souldyers, and told me (which is not in the information) that the other day a company of souldyers beinge drawne up together, one (whom he knew to be an inveterate agitator and an officer of Lamberts) insinuated himselfe to have discoursed with them one by one, and Leicester coming thither who knew him, he instantly disappeared. By that time I had finished the examinations, my L^d Chief Justice came to give me a visitt, (who have layne in the goute almost a fortnight,) so I read the examinations before him, and he swore them. The originals (being written with my ill hand) I keep by me; and whether you think these worthy his Majestys notice, or to acquaynt my Lord Generall or my Lord Chancellour with it, who I presume may have some further indications if there be any danger, I doe humbly submitt it to you, and remayne

Y^r Honours most humble and obliged servant,

ORL. BRIDGEMAN.

Thursday, 11 Dec.

For the Right Hon^{ble} Sir Edw. Nicholas,
Principale Secretary of State.

Endorsed by Sir E. Nicholas — "11^o Dec',
. 1660. L^d Ch. Justice Bridgeman."

¹ Sir Robert Forster, Kt. was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, October 22. 1660.

LXI.

THOMAS MAYNARD TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

SINCE the Portugal Ambassador departed for England, which was nyne and twenty dayes paste (by whom I made bold to write your Honour), this Courte affordes noe other discourse but of the marriage of the Infanta; and the people of all condition are so much posseste wth the hopes that the Lady will be Queen of England, that if any man should in the leaste seem to contradict it, it is sufficient to make him to be thought an enemy to this nation. And your Honour will finde it to be true, that if these people are frustrated in their expectations it will occasion a very greate allteration in the Kinge of Portugall's affair; for the taxes w^{ch} are imposed on the common people are next to intollerable. The Kinge hath of late exacted a new tax. Every servant of the meaneste degree pays four crowns and a half; tradesmen are rated, some five, some tenn, some twenty pownds, and so upward accordinge to there abillities, in so much that severall merchants of this citty paide, some twenty, some thirty, and some forty thousand crowns a piece; w^{ch} is more than some of them have been worth. All merchant strangers, excepting his Ma^{ties} subjects, have contributed to this imposition, but in a very moderate manner; but the Nobillity and gentry have not paid a farthinge, w^{ch} extremely disgusts the common people.

I have lived in this country above twenty yeares, but I never knew the English and Irish Jesuits and Priests so frequently passe to and from England as they have done of late. I beseech God to preserve his sacred Ma^{tie} from all Jesuiticall plotts. They talk larger, and seem to be transported

wth joy, wthin these five or six months, more than ever I knew them in former tymes. Some of them have saide they cann be as good Quakers as any in England; and tis too evident they will leave nothing unattempted to wyden our breaches, and bringe the Church of Eng^d into contempt: for they tremble to thinke the Church should retorne againe to that flourishing estate it was in before these unhappy (and never to be too much lamented) tymes.

Your Honour moste humble servant,

THO. MAYNARD.

Lisbon, the $\frac{12}{22}$ Feb^r, 1661.

LXII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE TO THE EARL OF ST.
ALBANS.¹

[From the Bodleian Library.]

SINCE my last to your Lo^{pp} I have received yours of the 29th, and have seene four of your others to the Kinge, the severall particulars wherof I have direction from the Kinge to discourse with you upon, leavinge, as I shall always do, the generall occurrences to your other correspondents, who have more leasure. I am very gladd you concurr with the generall opinions of most heare, that the overture with Parma² is very happily layd asyde; yet I must tell you, the discourse of it, and the spreadinge it by the promoters with more than ordinary vanity, hath had a good effecte, and made the other allyance with Portugall, which is not yet discoursed of with any authority, celebrated with the most generall applause, that I thinke any thinge of that nature ever was, by the people of all interests, excepte the Catholiques, who generally, I meane those who are given most to talke and would fayne be

¹ The Earl of St. Albans was at this time Ambassador at the Court of France.

² The project promoted by Lord Bristol, for the marriage of Charles II. to one of the Princesses of Parma.

thought the Plenipotentiarys of the body, invaigh against it with most unseasonable sharpnesse, of which the most sober are enough ashamed. The truth is, there is enough in that Treaty, after the passionat desyre of a Protestant, which was rather wished than hoped for, to render that alliance very popular; for, besydes the portion in money, which is two millions of crowns Portugueses, and I belieue much more then¹ could be had any wher else, that advantages and benefitts to trade make the marchants most enamoured on it; and sure wee have very ill luk if, in the East and West Indyas, they do not make incredible benefitt by the concessyons, even to their owne heartes desyre. The thorough disgestinge of them, and some circumstances in the formality of the marriage, (for it must not be made in Portugall, because of the differences they have with the Pope, which will obstructe the dispensation,) is the ground of the delay. As soone as a more particular disgest can be made, it shall be sent to the Queen.² I suppose the matter will be made publique before the Parliament³, excepte somewhat hinders it, that I cannot foresee; but you may be confident the Parliament it selfe will be constituted to your wish, and will proceede with that duty they ought to doe, and I am confident will be moderated, even in that particular with which they are most transported, against the Catholiques, by his Majestys influence, in spite of the vanity and braggs of some foolish priests, who do ther frends more harm, than ther enemyes could do without them.

I am confident you will finde that all the stepps which have bene made in that busynesse have bene with full deliberation, nor can the Kinge reasonably expecte, from your negotiation, more of countenance, in this affayre, from the Kinge of France (how agreable soever in truth the

¹ than.

² Henrietta Maria, the widow of Charles I.

³ Sic. The word "meets" would complete the sense.

same is to his interests, and consequently must be to his wish), than that hee will in no degree discountenance it, or appeare publicly, upon any importunity of the Spaniard, to be dissatisfyed with it, which would be inconvenient, and of ill consequence to our master, though his hearte be never so right. It could not be reasonable to expecte, that so soone after such an allyance with Spayne, he should do any thinge publicly to our Masters advantage, as if he did concurr in the disobligation. The Spanish Ambassador¹ heare braggd aloud among his frends, that as soone as the Kings intention in this pointe shall be manifest, he must præpare for a storme from France, as well as from Spayne. You may reasonably conclude, that whatsoever can come from the latter, hath bene well weighed, and that the apprehension of it ought not to terrify us, and when indeede wee shall not be obleiged to do more, by this allyance, than wee ought in discretion to do without it.

I am sure you will not believe that I have gone a sharer in any intriegue with Bartett², who it seems hath payd

¹ The Baron de Vatteville (called also Batteville), Ambassador from Spain to the English Court. Lord Clarendon says, "He seemed a rough man, and "to have more of the camp, but in truth knew the intrigues of a court better than most Spaniards; and except when his passion surprised him, wary and cunning in his negotiation. He lived with less reservation and more jollity than the ministers of that crown used to do; and drew such of the court to his table and conversation who he observed were loud talkers and confident enough in the King's presence." *Cont. of Life of Clarendon*, i. 503.

² The Lord Chancellor, in a letter to Bastide, of April 1. had said, "My Lord of St. Albans presses very importunately for instructions to press the King of France upon this business of Portugal, and suspects that Bartett hath some secret of trust in that affair; he shall have such general instructions as may tend only to remove any prejudice the King of France may have to the match with Portugal, by reason of any obligations his Majesty may have upon his new alliances with Spain; but St. Albans shall never have the least ground to imagine that there is any other intelligence kept upon that affair than by him, though it is possible Bartett's activity and confidence will always keep in him some jealousy of his negotiations. Considering the trust Bartett had from the Cardinal, and the confidence of his nature, it was hard for the King to be always upon his guard with him whilst he was here; but you may be most confident, he will not receive the least

deere for his activity; and I dare sweare, by the enquiry I have made into it, that his owne vanity hath ingaged him in those inconveniences, and that he had præteded to know whatsoever he thought, and to be derected when he hath only obeyed his owne fancy. Sure you would never be melancholique enough to believe that he, or any body else, can have a trust from the King in your province, and aparte from you. No liberty Princes have to electe their owne ministers can supporte such a paradox; and I pray never suspecte *that*, by your want of instruction in any particulars which appeare necessary to your full negotiation; for-wee can never be sharp-sighted enough to decerne all necessities or conveniencies of that kinde; but you must your selfe give us advize of what you see must be fitt to be done by you, upon what is probably to fall out, and then you shall not want instructions.

I am exceedingly gladd that all thinges in the marriage¹ hath² succeeded to your wish. I am fully of your opinion, that it had bene to no purpose to have insisted upon the disposall of places, which shall hereafter falle, in which no promise would have been kept. I wish all may stande fast who were in possession at the marriage. I much depende upon your Lordshipp (since I dare not take the præsumption of writing to her Ro. H^e³) to lay me att her feete, in the most humble and devoute congratulations of her happiness that can be expressed.

The Kinge is most really affected (as he hath good cause to be) with the expressions of a firme affection the Kinge of France makes towards him; and you may lay your life his Majesty will alwayes sett a just valew upon that frendshipp, the præservation whereof is so necessary for the

"trust or direction from hence, in any affair whatsoever, and if he pretends "to any, you may be assured it proceeds purely from his own vanity." Clarendon State Papers, iii. Supp. ii.

¹ The marriage of Henrietta, youngest sister of Charles II., to Philip, only brother of Louis XIV.

² Sic.

³ The Princess Henrietta.

good of both kingdomes, which, if well united, may give lawes to ther neighbours of what greatnesse soever. However, as you will do all you can to establish that mutuall confidence and disposition in the two kings, you will proceede with all the warynesse and tendernesse that is possible, in præparinge such additional articles as must oblige each other kinge in giving assistance upon the occasyon of domestique troubles, which how unnaturally enough practised heare of late, are more naturally to be expected in France, for the tyme to come: all which I say only to you, at least that these propositions may aryse from them rather then be pressed by us, and that the Kinge may be cleerely informed from your Lordship what is offred and expected ther, before you conclude any thinge positively; and you will finde the difficulty the greater, because (though you may sweare no rebellion that shall aryse ther, on what grounde or prætense soever, will finde lesse countenance from our master then from any Pr. in Europe) you will observe in many treaties, if not in all, some articles in favour of the Protestants; and if any thinge should be soe expresse in the Articles, that might oblige the Kinge to do any thinge against them, it would make an ill noyse, to the Kings præjudice, without any other advantage to the Kinge of France then of that præjudice.

You have reason to complayne that you have not the Treaty made with France by Cromwell, which though I thinke is not my faulte, I am sure is no bodyes else. I told you when wee parted that I had a copy of it, but I thought not fitt in such an affayre that you should proceede upon the confidence of a copy, and I did not nor could get the originall into my handes, which I now have, under the Greate Seale of France (except only the Article of Dunkirke), till within these 3 or 4 dayes. It shall be copyed out, and sent to you with all speede. Nor can I yet send you any advize what you are to do concerninge Orange, because our time hath hitherto bene spent with the Electour of

Brandenburghs Ambassadors, upon what concerned the education of the Pr^e of Aurange, which six Deputies of Hollande, wherof De Witt is the chief, would ingrosse to themselves (in which transaction Oderte will I feare be founde very inexcusable); but wee shall this next weeke enter upon that of Orange, and you shall be then advertized at large what is to be done.

Though the animadversion you give the Kinge concerning the L^d Aubigny¹ well oblige the Kinge to do what in many respects is a little inconvenient, you may be confident his Majesty will not leave King of France unsatisfied in that particular, much lesse that he will interpose for any particular mans sake, in any thing that will be ungracious to France.

Endorsed by the L^d Ch^r Hyde — "Mine to
L^d S^t Albans. Aprill the 8th, 1661."

LXIII.

FROM THE EARL OF ST. ALBANS TO THE LORD
CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Paris, May 10. 1660^x 1661.

SINCE my last to you touching the busines of Dunkirk²,
I have been at Fountainbleau, where I have met with

¹ The Lord Chancellor, in a letter of the same day to Bastide, says, "The King hears from Lord St. Albans, that Monsieur de Leon (Lionne) moved him from the King of France that Lord Aubigny might not be suffered yet to return to France, being suspected to have some intrigue for the Cardinal de Retz." Clarendon State Papers, iii. Supp. iii.

² Bastide in a letter to the Lord Chancellor, of May 6. 1661, informs him "that the Governor of Dunkirk hath sent some of his men to those of Bourberg, who you know are subject to his Majesty (Louis XIV.), with this message, — that they should bring a tax or contribution to him, otherwise he would plunder them: his Majesty cannot imagine that the King of England would own any such thing; and yet did nothing else upon that but giving notice of it to Lord St. Albans, and forbidding his subjects both to pay and fear; and his Majesty is confident that the King of England will be pleased to send his orders to the Governor for the preventing the effect of

more discours and more information of that matter. It is not of so little consideration as I esteemed it at first: it will deserve some of your serious thoughts. The pretention of making Bourbourgh contribute is taken by this King his counsell, and generally all that come near him, to be without the least shadow of right, by whiche in the first you may discearn that it will not be yealded to; and I doe further knowe that there is order gonne to forbid the paying it, untill a further regulation. This signifies nothing to the right of the King. I observe thus much to another end; that is, if the right seem to you to be on our side, and that the resolution be taken to assert it by any violence, before an examination of it be enterd into, that care be taken it be soe gonne about that we receive noe displeasure; for I know that they will be watchfull heere in the defence of it, to the point of right (submitting my opinion to that which you shall descide for me, which shall both conclude my judgement and direct my proceedings). Allow me though to tell you, that it occurs not to me upon what title this contribution can be exacted,—how princes in amitie can demand contribution one of another, without the ground of some convention,—for it seemes new to me, and I think, or rather feare, there will be none found in this case. There is a convention, that, for the carrying on of the war, (while the English and Frenche wear engaged together agaynst the Spaniards,) for the susteyning of their troopes, they should haue this and severall other contributions; but whether that establish a right for the continuance is the question. If it were specified in the Treaty by which Dunkirk falls to the English, then, certainly, the King, who succeeds to the full extent and effects of that Treaty, ought not to be denied it. But tis affirmed heere (whiche you may be able to see), that the Treaty onely

"those threatenings of his own making." Clarendon State Papers, iii. Supp. vii. — This is "the business of Dunkirk" alluded to in Lord St. Albans's letter.

settles Dunkirk and the dependancies, of whiche nature the contribution of Bourghbourgh cannot be supposed to be. In fine, not to trouble you with more discourse of this matter, the issue out of it is not very hard, if there be mutuall inclinations to seek it. Thear ought to be a suspension of any further proceedings, untill a view may be had of the condition originally of the question, which can onely be stated by seeing the Treaty. If there be any article that carries the continuance of this contribution in our favor, now the war is ceased, the King ought to expect and exact it. If there be noe convention, I know not upon what ground he can doe either. You will be pleased, as soon as may be, to let me be further instructed: in the mean time I shall haue noe more to say.

This question hath not suspended the speaking of other things. I haue seen Monsieur de Lyonne, who hath, more particularly than the other ministers, the Forrain affayres in his repartition, and is apointed, (as I haue I think heeretofore advertised you particularly,) to treat with me, and haue spoken with him in pursuit of settling a nearer correspondence and frendship between the King our master and this King, suche as may comprise the mutuall assistance of eache other, in their severall exigencyes, in consideration of that which we are now about with Portugal. I insisted muche on interesting them heere (without naming that for the reason) in our interests, in case we should fall into any quarrel with any of our neighbors: but I find them very stanche in that point. But, for the other, (whiche indeed is that I haue order from the King to be more instant in,) they goe as fast as I and ¹are willing to stipulate the particulars, of whiche should consist the respective helps, that any occasions within the kingdomes of each other should minester the need of. Making some further steps into this discourse, I asked whyther they would agree to furnish the King six thousand foote and two thousand hors, if he should haue

¹ Sic.

need of them, to be imbarked, at suche ports in France as the King should name, in the Kings owne vessels, and payed by the Frenche King for two moneths after their landing. I was answered, that ther was noething amisse in that proposition, soe that they might expect something of the like utility, in case the future events and accidents should bring the lot of thir part, to ask the effects of that whiche should be now treated. I told them, ther ought to be noe doubt made of that. He added, that it would be necessary to renew the former treatyes and allyances, and, at the same time, we might adde, in some act apart, that whiche should concerne this private treaty.

That whiche is now to be done is, to searche the former Treatys in order to the renewing of them, and to consider very maturely what is to be retayned, what taken away, and what to be added, wherein I will take all the paynes I can, and give you my thoughts. But the cheifest part must rest upon you; and in the particulars that will concerne the commerce you must haue the aduice of our marchants, to be informed whearin they are harmed, and whearin they may be eased. I haue gotten the last publick Treaty of Cromwel. I haue that of 1606 between King James and Henry the 4th, that of King James & Louis 13. of 1610, and that of King Charles and Louis the 13. of 1632. I will endeavour to get the rest; but if I should not find them, pray send me as many as you recover.

For the private Treaty, that which is to be donne is, that you send me word whyther you like the proportion of ayde that I haue nominated, and that you specifye as many particulars as may make it intelligible, and that you set downe likewise suche a succour as this King may expect, in case it should be his turn to demand it. We being to make in both cases the preparations for the passing of the men, and consequently to haue that charge, it will be equall to ask a succour of more men than that we offer.

This for the present is all I haue to say: onely let me

desire you to let me hear from you as soon as you can touching Dunkirk, and the rest of the subject of this letter. The aproache of the Parliament, I easily foresee, will giue you but little time for other busines. Cowley¹ will solicit you carefully for your answer. I hear the solemnities of the Coronation haue passed with great order and magnificence, — the latter even to excess; but the occasion carries the excuse. I pray God give you all happynes.

I present you the *para bien* for the new honor² his Ma^{ty} hath bin pleased to lay upon you, and wish you truly all the additions and satisfaction that your most faythfull servants ought to desire.

LXIV.

THOMAS MAYNARD TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

I NEVER saw a greater alteration in my life than I have of late seen in this Courte; for upon the receipt of the Embassador's letters, which were dated in February, the whole Courte was beyond measure dejected; but the very next day I received a packet from the Embassador, dated the 14 March, for the Kinge, which transported them as much wth joy. So now there is nothinge but cheerfulness to be reade in the faces of people of all conditions, nor any discourse but of goinge toe England amongst our courtiers; and tis next to herisie for any man to say that the Infanta is not Queene of Great Britain. Greate

¹ Abraham Cowley, the celebrated poet; born in 1618. He retired in 1665 to Chertsey, where, says Dr. Johnson, "he soon obtained, by the interest of the Earl of St. Albans and the Duke of Buckingham, such a lease of the Queen's lands as afforded him an ample income." Here he died in 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

² The Earldom of Clarendon.

preparations are makinge in the Palace; six rich beds are lately sett up, and more providinge, to entertain (they say) his Highnesse the Duke of Yorke. I was told by one that sits at the sterne with the greateste injunctions of secresie that could be, that his Ma^{tie} was pleased to say to the Embassador that his Brother would see Portugall; and to begett the more credit in the common people, a Dominican fryer preacht in the King's Chappel on Easter day laste, when were presente the King, Queene Mother, and the Infanta. Before he named his text, he began a discourse to this purpose, that haveinge the honour now to preach on a subject w^{ch} he could not finish in the time he was limited to that place, he humbly beseeched her Highnesse that shee would suffer him to conclude his text the next day in her Royal Chappel in London.

Your Honours faithfull servant,

THOMAS MAYNARD.

Lis^a, the 18 Maii, 1661.

LXV.

THE MARQUIS OF ARGYLE¹ TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON. x

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LO.,

To give me leave, tho I be a strainger to you, yet so far to make knownen my condition to your Lo. that comon report (the most crooked rule, for trying or judgeing any mans actionns) doe not take too deep impressione with your L^o who has the reputation to be so wyse and just; therefore I shall verie frielie justifie both his M^a and all others who wer strangers to the proceedings of this kingdome during the troubles, for any thinge befallen me hithertill; when doubtles many of my owin countrie

¹ Archibald Campbell, eighth Earl of Argyle, created a Marquis, Nov. 16. 1641. He was beheaded at Edinburgh on the 27th of May, 1661.

men, from a pretence of zeall to his Ma^s service, have been so prodigall of thir informations against me, as to load me with the burden of all calamitous events, many doubtles doing it through mistake and misinformation, and others to lay the blaime at one mans door (tho more inocent then many others), rather than to putt it wher it ought justlie to lye. For I may say it with confidence, I never acted in any of the publick affaires of these nationes, with any intention to the prejudice of his late royall Ma. or his gracious Ma. who now is, ther persons or government. And as for many other particular calumnies, they are so well known to be most false, that I will not trouble yo^r Lo^p. with mentioning of them, but leave it to my sone to give your Lo. a short information of my case upon all, whereby your Lo. will evidentlie see, not only the hard measure I mett with, but the reflection it has upon his Majestie, and his gracious disposition held forth to his people both by his owne and your Lo. speeches. And altho I lay no claime of meritt upon any of my indeavoures for his Ma^s service, being no more nor my dewtie, yet, I may say, I was ever faithfull and some tymes vsefull, and never disloyall to his Ma. nor his interest, tho I might be caryed away in a speat by human imbecelity, which his Ma^s gracious inclination to clemencie has pardoned to all other his subjects, in all his dominions; and what assistance your Lo. shalbe pleased to contribute, in bringing me within the compass of his M^as mercie, shalbe acknowledged as a perpetuall obligation upon the family of

Your Lo. most humble servant,

ARGYLL.

For The Right Hon^{ble} the Earl of Clarendon,
Lord High Chan^{llr} of England.¹

Endorsed by L^d Clarendon — "Marq^s of
Argyle."

¹ The Lord Chancellor was created Earl of Clarendon on the 21st of April, 1661.—This letter, which is without date, must have been written subsequently to that creation being known at Edinburgh.

LXVI.

LORD MASSAREENE to THE DUKE OF ORMOND.¹[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

x

I MUST beg y^r Grace's leave to minde y^u off y^e proposall, long synce humbly presented, for conferring y^e product off the county off Meath² on that Lord Chancellor, who hath layd soe very much of obligation uppon all y^e English off this kingdom, that we must owne our lying under such a rule off gratitude to his Lo^p, as wee and our posterities can never sufficiently acknowledg. Y^r Grace was pleased to take y^e humble desyres off his & y^r Lo^p's servants, as to this pticuler, into y^r care. Iff y^e signification off his Ma^{'ty} pleasure were sent us, so we would, with much more cherfulness, apply ther endeavoures to y^t worke; seing therby optunity is administred, to evydence grattitude to his Lo^p, w^{ch} y^r Lo^p's servant, as one off them, must ever acknowledg is allsoe debetod to y^r selfe from

Y^r Graces most obleiged, most obedyent,
& most humble servant,

MASSAREENE.

Dublin, 29 May, 1661.

¹ Ormond was not at this time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was appointed to that office on the 4th of November, 1661. He had been created Duke of Ormond on the 30th, of March, 1661.

² One half year's rent from the soldiers and adventurers then "in possession of their estates, for their arrears and adventures in the counties of East and West Meath, Wexford, and Kilkenny," was granted to Lord Clarendon by the King's letter, dated April 21. 1662.

LXVII.¹

Orig.
x

THE REV. JAMES SHARP² to SIR ARCHIBALD PRIMROSE.³

[From Woodrow's MSS. in the Advocates Library. *Orig.*]

LAST week my Lords⁴ here made no question of being dismissed this week, with full satisfaction to all their desires, for which they had assurances from the King and Chancellor: but, upon Tuesday last, at a meeting with the King, the Duke, the Chancellor, and the Duke of Ormond, they met with a great disappointment; for, after warm reasoning, they discovered a resolution that the English garrisons should be kept upon us. The King remained constant and immoveable for taking them off; but the Chancellor said it would be contrary to the sense of both Houses, and the removing of the garrisons would hinder them from giving the King any money at all, and thus marr his affairs. Thus they parted, with small content on either hand, and my Lords took a resolution to begg the King's leave to return to Scotland. The next day they sent me to my Lord Chancellor of England to acquaint him with their purposes, and to speak my thoughts, which I did with such freedom and plainness as startled his Lordship, who prayed me to beseech them not to be suddain, till he should speak with

¹ This letter was written in June, 1661.

² James Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrew's. He was murdered on the 3d of May, 1679.

³ Burnet says of Sir Archibald Primrose, the Lord Register, that he was "the subtlest of all Lord Middleton's friends,"—"a man of long and great practice in affairs; for he and his father had served the Crown successively an hundred years all but one, when he was turned out of employment. He was a dexterous man in business: he had always expedients ready at every difficulty. He had an art of speaking to all men according to their sense of things, and so drew out their secrets, while he concealed his own, for words went for nothing with him." Burnet's Own Times, i. 179.

⁴ The Earls of Glencairn, Rothes, and Crawford.

them, which he would do this night. My Lord Lauderdale having told the King of their great dissatisfaction, and purpose to go hence, they were ordered yesterday to wait upon his Majesty, who entertained them with such gracious expressions both of his care and kindness as to the concerns of our country, (and indeed, my Lord, had we not such a gracious Prince to looke to, I know not what would become of us,) and particularly of his resolution to take off the garrisons, that it was an inexpressible comfort to them. His Majesty particularly laid his commands upon them to stay till he could give them more positive publick assurances, and the three Lords kissed his hands upon these promises. They have given a full account of all to my Lord Commissioner, of which I have given some hints to your Lordship, but it is only to your self. We find a great malice from the young Blades in both Houses against our nation; and if at this time the garrisons be cut off, we need not expect to be freed from these badges of our slavery in our time. Though there be inconvenience of the delay of the adjournment of the Parliament, yet better will you dispence with it for a little time, than to let this opportunity of our freedom from our bondage slip; for if the Parliament should adjourn, before assurances for removing of the garrisons, there is no place for hope they shall be hereafter; and therefore they resolve to strike the iron while it is hot, and are hopeful that upon the return from my Lord Commissioner, which they expect with all speed, they shall have a satisfactory answer from the King, and the order for adjournment will be immediately after sent.

* * * * *

Your Lordships most humble servant,

JA. SHARP.

For my Lord Register.

LXVIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING¹ to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, $\frac{6}{7}$ June, 1661.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SATTURDAY last, about two in the morning, I took boat from London, and about three in the afternoon the next day I arrived safe at the Brill; and that I might lose no

¹ George Downing was the son of Calibute Downing, D.D., Rector of Hackney. He sat in Cromwell's Parliament of 1656, as M. P. for Haddington; and is thus mentioned in a scarce tract, entitled "A Narrative of the late Parliament," published in 1657, which enumerates the offices and salaries of the placemen. "George Downing as Scout-master General, £365. *per annum*; one of the Tellers in the Exchequer £500.; in all £865. *per annum*. It's said he hath the Captain's pay of a troop of horse." In 1657 he was appointed by Oliver Cromwell, Resident at the Hague. In April, 1660, foreseeing the King's restoration, he offered his services to Charles II. in a manner which is thus described in a letter of April 5th to the King, from Mr. Thomas Howard,—“Yesterday, being the 4th of this instant, Downing, the Parliament resident, sent twice to speak with me, so earnestly, that notwithstanding the reasons I had to myself not to see him, I went to him. When I came, he told me he had desired to speak with me upon something that he believed would not be disagreeable to me; that he wished the promoting your Majesty's service, which he confessed he had endeavoured to obstruct, though he never had any malice to your Majesty's person or family; alledging to be engaged in a contrary party by his father, who was banished into New England, where he was brought up, and had sucked in principles, that since his reason had made him see were erroneous; and that he never was in arms but since the King's death, nor had even taken oath or engagement of any kind. And, not to trouble your Majesty with the long discourse he made me, in short, he told me his desires were to serve your Majesty, if you would be so graciously pleased as to pardon his past faults and errors; and that he did believe himself, in many capacities, able to do your Majesty some service.” Carte's Letters, ii. 319. Downing's services were accepted, and he was retained by Charles II., as the British diplomatic agent at the Hague, till, in 1665, the war with Holland obliged him to retire. He was knighted in May, 1660; was elected M. P. for Morpeth in 1661; was created a Baronet in 1663; became Secretary to the Treasury, and a Commissioner of Customs; was the mover, in 1665, of the celebrated proviso for the appropriation of supplies. He married Frances Howard, sister of the first Earl of Carlisle. Clarendon calls him “a man of a proud and insolent spirit.” Burnet designates him as “a crafty fawning man, who was ready to

time, I forthwith dispatched one to the Hague, to the
 7-11 Portingall Ambassador, to let him know of my arrivall,
 and that I was come with expresse orders about the affaires
 of his Master, and therefore that I did desire that nothing
 might passe further about them, untill I should have the
 happiness of seeing him at the Hague. The next day I
 went to Delft; and my goods and servants not being able
 with convenience to bee removed out of y^e shipp untill it
 was late, by reason of the very ill weather, I lay there
 that night, but had soe ordered it that the Councillier of
 the Embassadour of Portingall mett me there, from whome I
 understoode that matters were upon pointe of conclusion
 betweene the Embassadour and the Deputyes of the States.

The next day, being Tuesday, I came to this towne, accompanied with Colonell Killigrew and the rest of the English officers and merchants who were at that time heere. On Wednesday I gaue notice to the President of the States Generall of my arrivall; but finding that there came none from the aforesaid States that afternoon, to complement my arrivall, according to what I knew to bee due to the character I beare, I presently concluded within my selfe that it must bee a tricke of De Witts to put mee eyther upon demaunding my audience before that due had bin done to the King my master, or else to keepe mee from my audience untill they had dispatched the business of Portingall, which they are pursuing with a more then ordinary hast; and I doe finde, that had I stayd two dayes longer, it had bin fully dispatcht before my coming; and thereupon, I presently found a meanes to lett De Witt understand my minde fullye, and received forthwith from him a

"turn to any side that was uppermost, and to betray those who, by their former friendship and services, thought they might depend on him: as he did some of the regicides, whom he got in his hands under trust, and then delivered them up." Evelyn, Pepys, Temple, and D'Estrades, all mention him in terms of dislike; but without denying his abilities.

very great complement: and this morning the States sent to congratulate mee, and withall to deliver mee an Act to that purpose, which was never before done to any untill their audience.

Last night alsoe the Portingall Embassadour was pleased to give mee a private visitt. I founde him extremealy resolved forthwith to conclude; and indeed I understood by other hands, and hee did not deny it himselfe, that if he had not had notice upon Monday last of my arrivall, he had that day, or the next at furthest, made an end with De Witt. I dealt very roundly with him, telling him plainly, that if he should make any conclusion without the consent of the King of England first had, that what he should doe would not be ratified at Lisbon. Hee insisted very much upon the expressnes of his orders to conclude with all possible speede. I told him that all the seeming present zeale of this people proceeded not from any good will towards Portingall, but from the apprehension of the King of Englands resolutions to expouse its interests; and if they should but begin to perceive that he were any wise offended, they would quickly fly backe. In fine, he said that hee would give mee in writing the present state of that business, and that hee would not conclude untill I had an answer from England, coppies of which papers I have herein inclosed, and doe desire that I may heare from your Lordship by the first returne, and in the meane while, I shall hope, keepe him from makeing any further progresse; and am, my Lord,

Your Lordships most obedient and faithfull servant,

G. DOWNING.

LXIX.¹

ARTICLES PROPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR
AT THE HAGUE.—A Translation sent by SIR GEORGE
DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON, en-
closed in the letter of June $\frac{6}{16}$ 1661.

[From the Bodleian Library.]

HE undertakes that the King his master shall give unto this State four millions of crusadoes, making, at fourscore gros the crusado, 8 million of livres, money of this country; and this sum shall be paid in sugar, tobacco, salt, and impositions on . . . ², with condition that his Ma^{ty} may pay the said summe in these said commodities, so as when one species fails he may supply it with an other, and all at the rate that things goe, and amounting to the value of 500,000 livres a year, so that the whole will be payable in 16 years.

2. That his Ma^{ty} shall agree with the subjects of this State for the salt of S^t Eues³ in *such a manner as to avoid danger and length of time*⁴: they shall every year make a new agreement, by which the said subjects shall have the buying of all the salt (in case it be not against the treaty with England), excepting such proportion of salt as Portugal, and the provinces thereupon, shall have occasion to use: and in case the said *agreement may not be concluded out of hand*, or in some years, his Ma^{ty} shall break the *repartition now made*, so that the subjects of this State may, as well as other nations, have leave to buy the said salt; and, in the first place, it will be fitt to make and agree uppon the price which the salt shall be sold at, to this State and other nations.

3. His M^{ty} shall allow the subjects of this nation free

¹ See reference to this Paper in Letter LXXI.

² Illegible.

³ "Setuval a Lusitanis, a Belgis St. Uves appellatum." Dumont, Corps Universel Diplomatique, vi. Part ii. p. 367.

⁴ The parts printed in italics are not in cipher but underlined.

trade and commerce in all his kingdoms and acquisitions, with the same liberty that his owne subjects doe enjoy (except the kingdom of Brazil), as it is allowed the English, and, in short, will allow of the said trade in the same manner as his Ma^{ty} hath given, gives, or shall give it to the English nation, or any other nation which *the subjects of this kingdom are to be contented with, and the States are at no time to pretend to greater advantage than those the English nation enjoyes.*

4. And forasmuch as there are many persons in this country who have debts and pretensions in Brazil, the States may, within a month, make a title to examine them, and, if it be possible, agree in generall uppon the whole debt; and in case this agreement cannot be made, judges in equall number shall be named on both sides, and shall meet at Lisbon, where the suites and processes being brought before them, they shall be obliged to decide them within the space of four months. And his Ma^{ty} obliges himself to have all that shall be agreed upon punctually performed, all upon conditions that the ratification of *the peace being sent unto the States*, it shall be published and take effect from the day of the publication of it, as well in Europe as in all other parts of the world.

LXX.

THOMAS² MAYNARD to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

[From the State Paper Office. Orig.]

ABOUT fower days since aryved in this Port three merchant ships from London, whoe brought the newes of his Ma^{ties} intentions to make the Infanta Queen of Ingland (the welcomest news that ever came to this people), w^{ch} was confirmed by his Ma^{ties} and my Lord Chancelors speeches in Parliament. There is noe doubt his Ma^{tie} hath made both nations infinitely happy in this choyce. Shee is a lady of incomparable virtue, of excellent partes, very beautifull,

and of an indifferent stature, beeinge somewhat taler than the Queen, his Ma^{ties} mother. His Ma^{ties} speech and my Lord Chancellors are translated into Portuguese, w^{ch} the Secretary of State told me should be printed wth a letter w^{ch} the Marquis of Mira received very lately from Holland, the contents of w^{ch} is as followes : y^t our fleete was ready to goe for the Courte of Portugall, to waite the cominge home of the fleete from the Brazil; but now the States have taken other regulationes, fearinge the Kinge of England, who sent the States word, that if they sente their fleete to interrupt the Portuguese navigation, his Ma^{tie} would send a fleete of frigotts after them. So there is now almost nothing else to be heard in our streets, but ‘ Lett the Kinge ‘ of Greate Britaine live, whom God hath sent to protect ‘ us from our implacable enemies !’

Your Honours humble servant,

THO. MAYNARD.

Lis^a, the 7^y, June, 1661.

LXXI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r L^dSHIP,

WHEN I sent your L^dship those Articles¹, I had not had any time my selfe to consider them, which since I have seriouslye done, and doe finde that that Article concerning the Saint-euvaes Salt, and that Article concerning the Co^merce in Gen^l, as thay are sett downe in those Papers, are expresslye contrary to the Treaty which was made betweene the King

¹ Articles proposed by the Portuguese Ambassador. See LXIX. p. 137.

of Portugall and Cromwell, and would bee very prejudicial to his Ma^{ties} subjects. However the Portugall Ambassadour at London, did assure the King in my heareing, that the Portugall Ambassadour here would accord nothing to this State, which should bee dishon^{ble} or disadvantageous to the King or his subjects. I finde that the Portugall Ambassadour here had not sent his brother Ambassadour at London the words of the conceipt betweene him and Dewitt; for in relation to the Article concerning the Sainteuvans Salt, y^r L^pship may observe that as it is there couched, there is —

1. A ground of a præemption for the people of this country of all that salt; and as to his Ma^{ties} subjects, they are left to an after-gayne, vid^lct, a construction whether this be contrary to the Treaty betwixt the King of England and the King of Portugal. And reasoning this matter at large with the Portugall Ambassadour, and askeing him why, especially at this time, when the King of England was in such a manner espousing the interests of the King of Portugall, hee would agree to such a clause, which alsoe hee must knowe to bee directly contrary to the 3^d Article of the Treaty with Cromwell, (which sayth in the beginning theireof, that the English should have free liberty of buying all sorts of merchandises and goods, and in the end thereof, that what ever priuiledge should hereafter be granted to any other nation, should also be granted to the English)—his answer was, that there was a difference betweene this co^mmoditye of salt and all other co^mmodityes; for that this was a co^mmoditye which belonged only to a few who had a government and order among themselues, and a power of setting the price theireof, and might order what quantityes euery one should sell, and to whome, which is called the repartition. Besides, hee said, hee was to follow his orders, by which he had power to make this offer to the Dutch.

2. Y^r L^dship will finde by the 2^d, or additional Paper, that the King of Portugall thereby obliges himselfe to take

away the partition of salt with respect to the Dutch only, the consequence whereof will bee, that the Dutch will have the privyledge of buying that salt from any proprietor theireof at the best hand, and without being tyed to any certayne price, whereby they will bee able to buy cheaper then¹ the English, to the totall overthrow of theire trade: so that I doe see an absolute necessity of haveing that Article soe altered and dressed, that in the first place there bee noe agreem^t to bee made for the sole emption of that salt, but that the English may have as much freedome therein as the Dutch; and in the next place, that if the partition or repartition of the said salt bee taken away, that it bee taken away as well in relation to the English as to the Dutch, and theise thinges to bee soe sett downe in this Treatye, as that one Treaty may not hereafter bee sett on foote to fight against the other.

And as to the Article concerning Commerce in gen^l, the words are theise;—that the same commerce is granted, in the same manner, and with the same clauses, as it may bee practised with the English, which is expressly contrary to one part of the 11th Article of the Treatye with Cromwell, which sayth that the King of Portugall, and the Brazeile Company, and all other his subjects shall not hire any shipping of any other nation whatsoever, if there bee a sufficient number of the English to bee had, excepting only to the Brazeile Companye a power of hireing 6 of any other nation; and by the 26th Article of the sayd Treatye it is agreed, that nothinge of the sayd Treatye shall bee diminished by any league or treaty which should bee afterwards made by any other Prince or State: and whether there bee any other clauses of like nature in the Treaty now made betweene the King and the King of Portugal, I knowe not, and soe can say nothing thereunto; but shall attend your L^dships orders thereabout, which I hope I shall have both speedilye and full. And I haue in the

¹ than.

mean time very plainly represented these things to the Portugal Ambassadour; and he hath promised mee that he will *signe nothing underhand with De Witt*, and that when wee come to the Conferences, things shall bee penned to my contentment. I loue not these aftergames, but shall put him to it, and haue told him plainly, that if hee should doe any thinge dishon^{ble} or disadvantageous to the King my M^r, it would bee disauowed at Lisbon. *The French Ambassadour* sent on Tuesday last an expresse to the King of France to give him an accompte of the present condition of this busines, and thereupon sent to the Portugall Ambassadour to know from him how it stood, who forthwith came to me to advise what he should doe; whereupon I told him, that seeing the King of France had refused in any kinde to appeare for the King of Portugall, I could see no good could come of any such communication.

If the States Gen^l doe this weeke make an end of their resolution, I shall then (I suppose) about the beginning of next weeke, bee called to a conference with the Portugall Ambassadour and their Deputyes, where there is not like to be any long worke; and therefore I doe againe pray that I may very speedilye have his Ma^{ties} directions.

Sunday last I sent my Secretary to Leyden to the Prince of Orange, to let him knowe that I was arrived and would wayte upon him the next day, which accordingly I did, and dined with him, assuring him of his Ma^{ties} and y^r L^dships most intire affection towards him, and for the advancement of his affaires, and was the next day complimented from him by the M^r of his Horse. I haue also sent away, under the cover of Mounsieur Cobus, his Ma^{ties} letter to the Elector of Brandenburgh, as alsoe his Ma^{ties} and y^r L^dships letter to the Princesse Dowager; and I have since conferred at large with Somerdike and some others about the affaires of the Pr. of Orange; and they are perfectly of opinion, that if the King of England

should make a peace with¹ without the inclusion of the Pr. of Orange as to his designation, that it would bee first very dishon^{ble} to him, and loose him in the affections of those who are the freinds of the Pr. of Orange; and the rather, for that, say thay, Cromwell would not make a peace without an article for his exclusion at the same time; and moreover be wholly destructive to the interests of the Pr. of Orange; for that those who keepe him downe, haveing peace with the King of England, will bee able allwayes to doe soe; and on the other hand, Somerdike seeth that if the King of England should at this time speake of the busines of the Pr. of Orange, that those who are against it would, by way of diuersion, keepe off from cõmeing to any neerenes or understanding about other matters; but when other thinges be adjusted, the King of England shall then let the States Gen^l knowe that he is readye to conclude if they shall please to make a designation of the Prince of Orange to his charges; that this will doe the busines, and I am very confident it will, and doe desire I may fully understand y^r L^dships minde herein. I take it for undoubtedly certeyne that this people would not hazard their trade upon that point only.

I haue deliuered y^r L^dships to De Witt. I founde him very briske, but at last wee came a little neerer, and hee did desire that he and I might concert together a project of a Treaty, to bee betweene the King of England and the States Gen^l, leaving out those things which would bee chocquant to the King, which I told him I should be very readye to doe; and wee agreed that he should cõmunicate what wee did only to two or three, and that I should cõmunicate what I did only to y^r L^dship, to bee by you cõmunicated im̃ediately to the King: so I desire to knowe how I shall comport myselfe herein.

Deruither is with a fleete about 16 sayle, not farr from
de ...

¹ Sic. "The States," or "the Dutch," must have been the words omitted. See Lord C.'s answer.

the Texel, attending the return of the East Indye ships, and to bee neere, as matters shall goe with England. They are also in such iealousy at Amsterdam of his Ma^{ties} fleete, which is going to the Southward, under the Earl of Sandwich, that it is hardly possible, for any money, to ensure any thinge at Amsterdam upon the Spanish West Indye fleete.

It is not to bee credited what numbers of disaffected persons come dayly out of England into this country. They have settled at Rotterdam an Independent, Anabaptist, and Quakers Church, and doe hire the best houses, and have great bills of exchange come over from England to them. One who saw Cornett Joyce within theise two days, tells mee that hee talks very high. I am about settling correspondencies at Rotterdam and other parts, that I may knowe who thay are and what thay doe.

My Lord,

Yo^r L^dships most dutifull and devoted serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

Hague, June $\frac{1}{4}$, 1661.

LXXII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r L^dSHIP,

SATTURDAY last the Commissarye of this State for the affayres of Portugall sent to the Portugall Ambassador, to desire a conference with him presently about the business of the Treatye. He asked the messenger whether they had given me notice of the time; who replying that

hee knewe not, the said Ambassadour, without further communication, yielded to it, and sent the Councillor of the Ambassade to lett me knowe what he had done; to whom I said, that whatever the Ambassadors instructions might bee as to the matter of the Treaty, that yett I was sure that they did oblige him to doe it *mediante Angliâ*, and that I had thought wee had been agreed, that whenever they came to demand any conference, hee would have lett them knowe positively that he would not admitt it but in my presence, and did deale a little plainly with him. And to make sure work, I did myself speake both to De Witt and the President of the States Gen', and lett them know that it was somewhat strange that they would demande a conference without giving me notice thereof; who replied, that they would make report to the States Gen', and they doubted not but that I should have all contentment. And the Portugall Ambassadour, bethinking himselfe, sent also his Councillor the same morning to De Witt, to lett him knowe that he would have no more conferences without mee; and if I had not put things upon this pin, *the business had been over*; for in this first conference, that which wee proposed to the Ambassadour was to knowe of him whether he would consent to the restitution of the lands of Brazeile, to which he replied negatively. And that being done, pro formâ, for the contenting of the people (especially those of Gelderland and Zealand), *De Witt was resolved*, at the next conference, to have brought *an intire concept of a treaty*, and to have putt the *Portugal Ambassadors* upon the *inquiry* of it at the same time, and soe to have *made an end* upon Monday or Tuesday last at furthest, which he knewe could not have been if *I was present*; for that *I* must at leaste have *been against* severall things therein, for that *I* knowe them to bee directly contrary to the *treaty made with Cromwell*, and must conclude that *less* is not granted to the *King*. And it is upon this grounde that all this strange and

unheard of *haste* hath bin made in this busines: but *De Witt* hath missed his aim.

I have received your Lordshipps by the last post, and did deliver the enclosed from the *King and the Portugal Ambassador at London to the Portugal Ambassador here*, at which I found him *very much startled*; and replied, that the *Port. Amb^r at London* should have procured from the *King of Port^l* an order for him *here*, to have followed such directions as he should have received from him; or if this had been forgotten, yett at least that the *Port. Amb^r at London* should have given him an accompte, upon the conclusion of the treaty at London, how far in point of trade he had engaged the *King of Englande*. If hee had done but soe much, thinges had *not* come to the *passe they were now at*; but that he never did give him any such accompte untill this weeke, only in generall that hee should not *grant to this State those privileges in point of trade which he granted to the King of England*, without mentioning anything of the particulars; so as (said hee) it was all one as if hee had written to mee not to treat at all, not knowing what it was that might and what might not be *granted*.

Within half an hower after came *De Witt* to him, and desired an explanation of that article concerning their trade into Braziele and other the dominions of the King of Portugall, demanding that it might bee exprest, not in gen^l termes that thay should have it as the English, but thay should have a free liberty, having laden in any of those places, without being obliged to touch in Portugall, to goe directlye to any other place that thay shall have a minde to; to which he replied, that this was directlye contrarye to his instructions and to the Treatye with England; whereupon *De Witt* lett him knowe that if hee would not doe what they desired, they would make report to the States Gen^l, and breake off the negotiation; and sent his counsellor to me to let me know what had passed. I told him that *De Witt* did but endeavour to ensnare him, and that I

did desire him that *he* would go to *De Witt*, and let him knowe that hee could give *no more answers* but in *public conferences*, and not to lett him *perceive* the least *change of resolution* in him, and that if *he* could thus doe and be *guided by me*, we would soe manage business as that *the K. of England* would have content, and the *States Gen^l* not at least for some time *perceive* what *we* would be at; and soe that I could assure him that I should bee able, and would *keep the States Gen^l* from making any *sudden change* in their *resolution*, untill that we should be able particularly to *knowe*, from the *K^s of E^d*, what hee would have and what hee would not have granted to them, which I desire I and the *Port. Amb^r* may forthwith have directions about; else it will be impossible to knowe in any kinde how to *treate with the States Gen^l*.

All hold them¹ in *suspence*, not knowing what I may or what I may not yield unto; and the *Port. Amb^r* hath promised he will be ruled by me. Yet I must watch him; for I still perceive he hath in himselfe an infinite desire of *concluding this treaty*, as thinking that it would bee much to his honour. Besides, I finde that *he* is utterly fallen out with the *Secretary* of the *ambassade*; and, soe far as I can penetrate, a great part of the originall ground theireof hath been, that hee used sometimes to tell him that *he* should take heede, least by goeing too far with *De Witt* he should *displease the Kg of Eng^d*: and it is past all doubt, that any privilegde which the English shall have in co^mon with the Dutch, will bee of very little benefitt to the English, for that the Dutch will outrade them. Besides, there is no Prince of Europe, that, upon the accompte of co^mon amitye, would offer the King of Englands subjects lesse than they gave to any others whatsoever: but, as I hinted in my last, these Articles were directly contrary to the Treaty made with Cromwell, and consequently (as I might suppose) to that made with the King; and that thereby, in relation to the salt of

¹ themselves.

Saint Uvas (a thinge of most vaste consequence) somethinge was granted to them beyonde the English. But I am now confident y^r L^dship may be at rest in this business: their market and designe is spoyled: but this I pray, y^r L^dship would forthwith, by some way, write to Lisbon, y^t other orders may be sent hither to this Ambassador. I have also advised him to send himselfe, and he saith he will, and y^t he will hold his hands till he have an answer, only y^t we may endeavour so to order matters as (if possible) to keepe the people in suspence, y^t so they may not change their late resolution, and joyne together agst Portugall. And there is only one thing more considerable in this delay, to wit, y^t y^e forces sent unto the East Indyes shold have soe much more time for y^e affecting their designe. But I pray lett me know what it is y^e Port^l Amb^r may grant to these people, and I will let y^r Lordship know w^t I think may be done thereupon.

Hague, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{June 21.} \\ \text{July 1.} \end{array} \right\} 1661.$

LXXIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 8 July, 1661, N. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r L^dSHIP,

MYNE of the 4th instant will give y^r L^dship an account of most I haue to say, the which I had intended to have sent by the ship that carryed the Queene of Bohemia's goods. But that ship not departing so soone as I expected, I have adventured it with this, and shall only add as to the business of Portugall, that I have advised with some principall persons of the States of Zealand, about putting them upon

taking a resolution in their Assembly, for putting forward, in the Assembly of the States Gen^l, a truce betweene Portugall and this State for a considerable number of yeares, upon the same termes that were agreed betweene them in the year 1640 or 1641. And I have spoken at large with the Portugall Ambassadour about it, who sayth, that he can consent to it, and that if the King my master cannot suddenly come to a conclusion, whether he would have a peace concluded betweene his Master and this State, or upon what termes, or that the termes be such (upon which he would have it made) as it is certain this State will not accept, that there is no way left, but for him to lett them knowe that whereas he had bin here divers yeares continually pressing them to make a peace with his Master, and that by their meanes the matter had bin so long delayed, that now, in regard of somewhat he had understood from his brother Ambassadour at London, he can goe no further untill he heare from Lisbon, and in the meane time underhand to endeavour to putt on the business of a truce: for that by that meanes the King of Portugall will for the present keepe his monye, which, if the peace be concluded, he is yearly to paye them; and the Hollanders, in the meane time, inioying no greater priviledges in point of trade then they did inioy in the yeares 40 and 41; and yett, their present attempt in the East Indyes, in like manner frustrated as by a peace. All which I humbly lay before y^r L^dship, desiring his Ma^{ties} further orders and pleasure; not knowing whether, in case his Ma^{ty} should thinke fitt, I should be able to bring about this busines of a truce now matters are come to this pinch. But as for the putting off matters, till he heares from Lisbon, that the Portugall Ambassadour hath absolutely promised me to doe at the next conference. And as to the desire of this State to knowe what is treated at London, if y^r L^dship thinke fitt, I may give them this answer,— that the King my master is in all things most desirous to maintayne a very

cleare understanding with them, but that at present the ratifications are not exchanged, and that no communication can be expected till that be done.

I have vigorously made it my business, since my coming hither, to make a better understanding *between the Portugall and French Ambassador*, and shall doe it. But as to that *paper the Port. Ambassador* did not of himselfe think fitt to communicate to the *French Ambassador*, it being perfectly a secret and a thinge unconcluded, yett, if I had bin of another opinion, he would have yeilded thereunto. But truly I looked upon it as a paper, the communication whereof could doe no good, and therefore did agree with him in opinion, advising him to lett the *French Ambassador* knowe, that, as yett, matters were wholly in uncertaintye, but, as any thinge was done, he would not fayle to give him notice theirow, — which I thought to be an answer true without suspition, and more conducing to the end proposed in your L^dships.

As to the drawing of people from hence into England, there is no doubt, but the passing of an Act for the making of all Protestants to be as naturall borne subjects, would draw great numbers of people into England and Ireland from hence and from other partes, and is the best generall meanes that I knowe to that end: but I knowe it would finde great opposition in the Parliament, and doubt whether it would bee possible to finish it this session, and whether it would bee adviseable to attempt it till other matters which more nearely concern the King be settled. But for a beginning, the best thinge which I can devise, which will make but a little noise, and which would draw over a sort of people most necessary to the King is this, — to pass an Act of Parliament, whereby all such forrainers who should come and settle themselves in the towne of Great Yarmouth, and exercise the trade of fishery, or employ or sett at worke others in the same trade, or in the making netts or any other manufacture to the sayd trade pertain-

ing, should bee to all intents and purposes not only as naturall borne subjects, but as freemen of the said towne. This is the thing in the world that I would advise; and I have consulted with the most knowing in this country concerning it, and I thinke I doe know all the objections that can be made against it. It will be opposed by those of Yarmouth, upon the account of being a breach of their priviledges, to make any man free of their towne by Act of Parliament; but the same may be sayd as to any thinge of this nature. And as to what will be objected, that that towne hath a priviledge of buying herrings under the common price from such Dutch as bring them in thither, this is an obiection of little weight; for that that priviledge will still continue to them to buy them still at the same rate from those that shall bring them in, not being inhabitants, which is all the priviledge they have at this time. And Yarmouth is a place not onely infinitely beyond any place in this country, but incomparably beyond all other places in England whatsoever for the fishing trade, as I could shew your L^dship, but that it is too much for a letter; and were this thinge done, the King should quickly finde that towne strangely increase, and the King strengthened and enriched with that trade and vast numbers of marriners. And the herring trade is the cause of the salt trade, and the herring and salt trade are the causes of this countreys haveing, in a manner, wholly the trade of the Baltique Sea, for that they have those bulkye goods to load their ships with thither; whereas the ships which goe from England thither are faine to goe in a manner empty thither, which makes the freight backward from thence to England to be double of what it would be.

I am in some hopes to *finde out some of the excepted persons*¹; but I am very much afraide least that if I should go

¹ Downing succeeded in seizing Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead, at Delft, in March, 1662, and sending them to England, where they were tried, and executed on the 19th of April. Pepys, in his Diary of March 17., states that he

to *De Witt*, or any other, for an order to *seize them*, it should some how or other be *discovered*; for I know the humour of these people; and therefore, if I might have my owne way, I would in such a case *employ* three or fower *resolved English officers, and seize them, and then* immediately give notice to the Burgomasters of the place, and *States Generall*. Or, if *the King of England* would adventure, without more adoee (if possible) to *get them aboard some ship*. Lett me knowe the Kings pleasure herein. I have heard *where Edward Dendi was the last weeke*, and I am trying what I can doe to *find him*. I have also some incklings about *some others*, but I cannot yett make any certainty of it.

I am y^r Lordships
Most obedient humb. ser^t,
G. DOWNING.

LXXIV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.


[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r LORDSHIP,
IN my former letters I have give your L^dship my thoughts at large concerning the negotiation betweene Portugall and this country. It is most evident, that if the people of this country doe inioy the same priviledges with the

is told by the captain of the vessel which brought them that "the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so: though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villaine for his pains." Pepys, i. 254. Hume states (but without mentioning his authority), that Downing was once chaplain in Okey's regiment. Downing's apostate seal for "the King's service" is of so black character, that this circumstance, if true, can scarcely invest its baseness with a darker shade. See more on this subject, p. 155.

English, those priuiledges will be of little worth to the English, especially considering that this country doth not run the hazard of a war for the obtaining of them. On the other hand, while this matter hangs in suspence, the Dutch East Indye Company are still makeing a vast progresse in the East Indyes. I haue heard some very knowing people say, that what they have already gott in those parts is of much greater valewe than all Braziele; and it seemes that Macao is now besieged, as I hinted in my last, — a most important place in China for trade; and the forces which went hence this Spring would considerably strengthen the designe that they had in hand. And whereas the East Indye Company, upon the probability of the conclusion of the peace with Portugall, did intend this yeare to have shared twenty five per cent, they now speake of makeing a much lesse dividend, and reserving a great summe of money to sett out another great equipage this winter for Indya. And if at this time the King of Portugall should send other orders to the Ambassadour here for the retracting of what had bin offered, I doe not see any possibility of bringing these people thereunto, in regard this busines was gone soe farr, and had undoubtedly bin absolutely concluded with De Witt, if I had come but two dayes later.

The only expedient which I can imagine is that which I hinted in my last, of a Truce for a considerable time, whereby the Portugeuze will for the present save theire monyes, the English theire trade, and the designes of the Holland East Indye Company be stopped. And besides, there is another reason which doth not a little prevaile with me, especially at this time, vidtct, thereby to putt a little *slurr* upon *Dewitt* and the *Province of Holland*, and a little to encourage *Zealand*. And according to what I wrote to your Lordship in the last, that I had putt some of my friends in *Zealand* upon putting the estates of that province upon voteing for a Truce, the said Estates have accordingly done it; and I have herein inclosed to your



L^dship a copy of their resolution: and they have ordered their Deputyes in the States Gen^l to presse the same, and will doe their endeavour to bring the other Provinces to their opinions. And the Portugall Ambassadour here by his instructions can agree to a Truce; but his inclinations are still strong to agree to the proiect I sent your L^dship the last weeke, of which I doe assure your L^dship, I did suppose that his letters this last weeke, by the last post, from the Ambassadour at London, would have satisfied him that the termes, upon which he was making an agreement, were such as upon which noe agreement was ever to be made. But, I doe assure you, I cannot finde him at all of that opinion, but only that he will suspend further proceeding upon them for the present, for avoiding displeasing the King; which makes me to doubt within my selfe, whether you have any clause or article in your Treaty with Portugall, expressly obliging the King of Portugall never to grant such and such priviledges to any other nation whatsoever, in like manner as Cromwell tyed them in the Eleventh Article of his Treaty with them about hiring of ships. And believe it, if yee have not such an article in relation to such other priviledges as yee would haue to be peculiar to the English, the Portuguez will in time yield them to this country when the busines of the marriage is over, nor will they be in the least to be blamed for it; and their seeme to me, to be two things maynly considerable—the one is the trade to Braziele and the rest of their plantations, and the other is the salt of Saint-Vual.

I did speake to *De Witt* somewhat largely about the busines of the P. of Orange; and I must say I found him much more calme then before; but he said he could give no answer till next weeke, when his friends would be here, which I took for an answer, although I knewe he had bene with them last weeke. This I knowe, that *De Witt* and his friends are as averse from the P. of Orange as it is possible; but he is a great coward if indeede putt to it, and

I do not doubt but by God's assistance, with him or without him, to giue the King a good account of that busines. Yo^r L^dship will finde, among the points for the Convocation of the States of Holland, a point for the coming to a conclusion about the busines of a pension for the sayd Prince, w^{ch} is done to amuse (if possible) the King.

De Witt is very angry that the King hath changed the P. of Orange's Tutors : but it was very well done, for it hath given much courage to the P. of Oranges old and true friends.

I did speak to De Witt about having a dormant order to apprehend any of the excepted persons. He made much difficulty therein ; saying, that it was not a thinge that was fitt to be done untill the Treaty be concluded, but yett in conclusion did consent, but withall that it could not be done but by order of the States of Holland, which is true in regard that there is noe treaty yett made. But I told him that, if soe, that then it could not possibly be kept secret ; and there-upon I asked him what he thought, if I should cause any of them to be apprehended without order, and putt them into a ship, and send them into England. He replied, that he thought it was the surest way ; that it might indeede make a little stirre and busling ; but when it was done, it could not be undone. I desire that I may have your full directions herein. Dendi is yet at Rotterdam, and I am putt in hopes of finding Corbet. I heare that Okey and some others of them are at Strasbourg, and have purchased their freedome there publicquely ; and that Hewson is sick, but intends thither also, with one or two more, by the first occasion.

I am, my L^d,

Your L^dships most obedient humb. seru^t,

G. DOWNING.

Hague, July 15. 1661.

These. For the most Honorable the Earle of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, London.

LXXV.

THOMAS MAYNARD to SIR EDMUND NICHOLAS.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

HIS Ma^{ties} fleete, under the command of my Lord of Sandwich, paste by this port twenty days since, wth a faire winde; and in all probabillity they are before this time at Algiers. I beseech God give them good successe, that they may destroy that neste of rogues, for w^{ch} they have the praises of all Christendome; for if his M^{ty} doe not subdue them, they will in a few years destroy all the trade of Europe. My Lorde of Sandwich sente in the Martyre frigot to this port when the fleete paste by, in which came Cap^t Edward Bennet, whoe is still here; and I suppose he will not departe untill the Portugal Ambassador arrive from England, whoe is expected wth an excessive impatience by all sortes of people; and the Queen Regent is very much troubled at his longe stay. There are greate preparations for the reception of his Ma^{ties} Ambassador; and all strive to have things in readinesse, that the Queen may imbarke, in a little time after the fleete arrives, to preventee beeing at sea, as much as possible, in the winter season.

Wee shall be extreame happy as a Queen. Shee is as sweete a disposition Princes as everr was borne, and a lady of excellent partes, and bred hugely retired. She hath hardly been tenn tymes out of the Palace in her life. In five years tyme shee was not out of doores, untill she harde of his Ma^{ties} intentions to make her^e Queen of England, since w^{ch} shee hath been to visit two saintes in the city; and very shortly shee intends to pay her devotion to some saintes in the country.

Your Honours faithfull humble servant,

TH^s MAYNARD.Lis^a, the 1st/₇ July, 1666.

LXXVI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 29 July, N. S. 1661.

AFTER the arrivall of the post, *the Portugall Ambassador* came to me, and asked me if I had any letters for him in answer to his last *to the King and the Port^l Amb^r at London*; and, telling him *I had none*, he said that he could *not delay any longer*, seeing that *the King* was not pleased to answer to his, and to lett him know what he would have him to do in case the *States Gen^l* should take a resolution that either he must *signe the treaty or begone*. I told him *the King* had sufficiently declared his mind to him, and that if he *preferred the friendship of the States Gen^l before* that of his Ma^{ty}, I had nothing to say.

The next day he fell upon me with an expedient, viz^t, that an article should be inserted into the body of the Treaty to this effect,—that the said Treaty should be of none effect in any thinge wherein it should be contrary to that made at London; a copy of which proposition, for your fuller information, I have herein inclosed. I would not so dainly answer thereunto, but tooke a night's time to consider of it, and then told him that the proposition had in my opinion very much of reason in it; but that seeing it was a new one of which we had not spoken, or thought before, I must desire time to send it to England, and that the losse of time would not be much, seeing we could have an answer in nine days time: at which *he was very much troubled, saying*, that if this *would not satisfy, nothing else would*, and that then it was plaine that *the King of Engl^d* would not lett them

have *any peace with the States Gen^l*; and therefore, that for his part, if it were putt upon him *to signe the treaty with this clause, he must signe it*. Whereupon, finding him in this temper, I saw there was no way to deale with him but to tell him plainly, that if he should doe any thing without letting the King my Ma^r knowe it, untill that hee had received more orders, that I must protest against what ever he did; and that this would stop the proceedure of affaires between my Master and his. That startled him: he asked me whether I would give him this under my hand to bear him out; to which I replied, that if he did insist upon it, and would also give me his promise, that, upon my dooing it, he would stop any further proceedings till I had an answer, that in that case I would doe it; and upon these terms we parted, I promising to give him such a note to morrow.

Now I desire that yo^r L^dship will be pleased seriously to consider this proposition, and that I may without fayle have his Majesty's orders thereupon by the return of the next post. If you doe approve this expedient, I must tell your L^dship that I doe thinke that wee can gett it passed the States Gen^l, although it may seeme strange to you that wee should be able to doe it; and thus it will be in the *power of the K. of Port^l to grant or not to grant to the States Gen^l what they please*; and by this means wee doe not doubt but to be able to *stop the Hollanders present designes in the East Indies*, and wholly to divert the sending any more *forces hence thither this yeare*, which is a matter of greate moment, and indeed the only thing worth consideration in this busines.

LXXVII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy in the handwriting of Lord Cornbury.*]

July 26. 1661.

I PRESUME before this time the Chancellor Weyman hath spoken at large with you, and then you will the better agree together how to obviate the malice of De Witt, with reference to the Pr. of Orange, and likewise the malice of the Ambassadors here, with reference to the rumours they cast abroad, to lessen that peoples affection towards the King. And sure they are very quick in taking alarums, when they receive soe much trouble from every extravagant discourse, uttered by a Captaine at sea, without the least warrant or authority, as that must be at Cape Verd, w^{ch} nobody here can understand, and I am sure it was without the least ground. The Duke of Yorke conceives it must be one Cap^t Holmes, who is that way with 3 or 4 frigats, but under as strict instructions of treating our friends well, as can be given.

I am confident the French Ambassador will receive instructions the next weeke to make such overtures concerning the Pr. of Orange, and in such a manner and with such warmth, as he shall be desired by you.

Concerning the Port. Ambassad^r, the King can add little to what he hath formerly sayd, nor will he take it upon him expressly to forbid the Ambassador to sign such a peace as he conceives so advantagious to his Master, and the not doing thereof so ruinous. All that the King therefore says, is, that he cannot consent that the Dutch shall be put upon the same levell with him, in all the advantages w^{ch} must flow from the liberty of co^mmerce; and

his Ma^y is confident, that whatever the Ambassador undertakes, the King of Port. will never confirme such an indicorum. But if the article you mention be inserted, that nothing shall be binding w^{ch} is contrary or prejudiciall to the Treaty made with the King, in Gods name, lett him signe what agreement he thinkes fitt: but I confesse I cannot comprehend how any thing that is now agreed at the Hague, can prevent any of those mischeives in the East Indies, w^{ch} the fleete sent in the winter was designed to doe.

LXXVIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, Aug. 5¹. N. S. 1661.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r Lo^{pp},

SATURDAY last the States Gen^l did resolve that the Portugall Ambassador should have onely tenn dayes time given, and that if in that time he did not give satisfaction, that he should be gone out of the country; a copy of which resolution I have herein inclosed to your Lo^{pp}. And I doe knowe certainly that *this resolution was taken, by intelligence between the Portugall Ambassador and De Witt*, upon the grounds mentioned in my former letters; and they did ~~did~~ agree upon such a day as that there should be but iust time for the arrivall of the next post, so as that if that that should fayle of bringing a letter from the King to the Port. Ambassador, and in such termes as I hinted in my last, he will then certainly signe. And what do I know but that De Witt may stop my letters? and if I shall receive a letter

¹ July 26. Old Style.

from the King to him, if it doe not expressly hold out that, in case the Portugall Ambassador doe sign this Treaty, that his Ma^{ty} will not only protest, but soe protest as that he will thereupon stopp his affayres with Portugall, he will not care for it; for it is indifferent to him whether it bee ratefied or not, for that for certaine both he and about ten more of the principall of this State are to have very considerable summes at the signing of the Treaty, lett what will come of it afterwards; and the Port. Amb. hath power to take up the mony at Amsterdam. The Port. Ambassador confessed this himselfe to me, and that in case of the making of a cessation of armes they are to have nothing; and De Witt is one. And I doe knowe that the Port. Amb. hath shewed to De Witt all that the Port. Amb. at London hath sent to him of the Treaty made with his Ma^{ty}, and that thereupon De Witt is willing to haue a clause inserted, that nothing shall be of force in the said Treatye which should be found to be contrary to the Treaty made with the King of England, which it is my dutye to lett you knowe. But whether the Port. Ambas. at London have written all to the Ambassador here I knowe not, and whether bonâ fide this Treaty be contrary to that made with his Ma^{ty}, and soe can make noe judgment, but onely lay it before your Lo^{ps} as I did in my last; to which I hope I shall have an answer by this next post; which if I should not, I knowe it is design'd to signe the Treaty with such a clause.

It would be highly well, also, if you could so order matters, as that the *Treaty betweene the King and the King of France* could be ended, before the *Treaty betweene France and the States*; for I am sure that *De Witts hopes* are founded upon this,—that the *King of England* will certainly have warr with *Spayne*, and that, rather than faile, they can joyne with *Spayne*; and moreover, that they are in very great hopes of haveing what they desire of *France*; and that *France* will incline to the *States*, and not to the *King of England*, which,

if they should finde themselves mistaken in, it will (I assure you) make them bethinke themselves; and *this weeke they have begun to take the alarrum, as if you and the French Am. were about great matters; and if you should not be able to bring France wholly to your mind, yet it will be very good that thinges be so carryed as to giue jealousy to the States.*

I am, my Lord,
Your Lo^{ps} most obedient humble servant,
G. DOWNING.

For the most Hon^{ble} the Earle of Clarendon,
Lord High Chancellor of England, London.
Theise.

LXXIX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, Aug. 12.¹ N. S. 1661.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORD^{sh},

SATURDAY last the Treaty was signed by the Portugall Ambassadour and the Co^{mn} of this State, together with a separate article, that nothing should be binding, that should be found contrary to the Treaty lately made, betweene the King of England, and the King of Portugall. And I haue herein inclosed to your Lo^{pp} a printed copy of the sayd Treaty; and in writing a copy of the sayd separate Article, as also of such other thinges as are changed in this treaty from what they were in the former draught I sent your Lo^{pp}; and the Ambassadour

¹ August 2. Old Style.

doth thinke he hath done his M^r a most wonderfull peice of service: I am sure he hath done him a very *deare*. I wish the issue answer his expectation, and that he haue not thereby ingaged his M^r in much trouble and difficulty. His great argument for doeing of it was the busines of the Indys: and yett, as I allwayes told him, that as it was penned, it would operate nothing as to the preventing of any mischief that might come by the forces sent hence to those parts; and as to Europe, the Portuguezes were no loosers by the delay.

But as to *the King of Englands interests*, there is now a very *faire way* for the doeing therein as you shall thinke fitt; and as to what *the Port. Ambassador hath engaged*, that the *Treaty between the King and the King of Portugall* shall be shew'd within fifteen dayes, what had hee to doo to make such an *article*? and I doubt not but that his Ma^{ty} will now make his busines *sure with the King of Portugall*; and otherwise I am sure you will be *deceived* in the end. If his Ma^{ty} come into *warr with Spayne for the King of Port.*, then necessarily all the *trade of Spayne* will come to the *Hollanders*; and if they have, as by this *Treaty, equall priuiledges in Portugal*, not onely by their menagery, but also in regard they will be in *peace*, and soe their *ships* will goe *safe*, and *English ships unsafe*, they will also certainly have all the *trade of Portugall*. And for what is sayd, that they do by this Treaty quitt vast possessions in Brazeile, it is as certayne that that which they have taken from the Portuguezes in the East Indyes is of much more valewe, and therefore, as I alwayes told the Portugall Ambassadour, his instructions were fitted for matters as they were three or foure yeares agoe, but not as now; but that he would never understand; and I must say, in all my conversation with him, I have found him in generall very little a *friend to the King*, and very indifferent as to those thinges which have been treated between *the King and the*

King of Portugall, and not at all of a *generous* temper; so that indeed I had a very hard taske to deale with him. Had he sayd he had had his instructions and must follow them, or that he would expect such a time in order to heare from Lisbon and to satisfy the King my M^r, or any thinge else that had had downrightnes or certainty in it, it had bin well; but I could have never any thing of that kinde from him, but every day infinite importunitye and some new little tricke or device. Your Lo^{pp} knowes what he promised the King in his letter to him, viz^t, that he would doe nothinge without co^mmunicating with me, and that he should finde him non obedientiæ Maiestatis suæ, sed et nutui addictum; but nothing lesse performed, but constantly wholly govern'd himselfe by *Devitt*, co^mmunicating, advising, and acting in all thinges soly with him, as I gaue your Lo^{pp} formerly an account; — concluded with him that but tenn dayes time should be given him to signe, in that soe he might have a pretext of a kind of necessity put upon him of signing, and in the meane time sent earnest messages and letters to me, to endeavour to obtaine more time for him. And when I let him knowe that I did not doubt but that I could easilye obtaine more time, if he would assure me, that he would not lett the States know under hand, that it was his desire that they should not give him any more time, to that he would give no answer, but, on the other hand, if I would not write such letters to him as he would dictate, and doe whatever he would have me doe, he would presently impute to me the reason of his signing; and as soone as ever I had done any one thinge that he bid me, he had presently some new device on foote. And it appeares now by the fact, that he desired no longer time; for that he signed upon the Satturday; whereas his tenn dayes were not out untill Tuesday following; and although he knew that upon the Monday I should have an answer, whether the King was willing that the Treaty should be signed, with a clause or Article that

nothing should be binding which should be contrary to the Treaty made with him, yett upon no termes would he consent to putt off the signing till Monday, which he might have done without any manner of preiudice, and then, when he had knowne the minde of the King, have done what he thought fitting.

But although the said Ambassadour shewed much herein of an evill inclination, yet it was better for the Kings busines ^athen if it had bin putt off till Monday; for in regard I had not then received his Ma^{ties} minde, I did desire therein excuse for being present, and soe have avoided the signing of the sayd Treaty as Mediatour, which, had I bin present, I could not handsomely have avoyded, and which they would have made very much a doe about, in case any dispute doe arise upon the account of the King in relation to this Treaty. And as to the separate Article, *the Port. Ambassador would not have insisted to have it inserted, had I not found out, by the Secretary of the Ambassade, that he had an old instruction with reference to the former Treaty made with Cromwell, that whatever he should grant to them, yett that there should be an expresse clause, that if any thing thereof should appeare contrary to the sayd Treaty, that it should be of none effect; and pressing him upon that account, that there was much more reason now to have such an article inserted, he could not avoide the doing of it, and for the prevailing with Dewitt did communicate to him the letter his Ma^{ty} had written to him, and whatever passed betweene him and mee.*

I haue drawne out those thinges by which this Treaty differs from the proiect I formerly sent your Lo^{pp}, and haue herein inclosed a memorandum of them, that so your Lo^{pp} may the readyer understand them; among which your Lo^{pp} will observe that whereas all acts of hostility were by the former to haue ceased from the day of the signing, the Portugall Ambassadour hath suffered this to be altered; and now there is two monthes time given from the signing

before hostility is to cease in Europe, which shewes a very *ill inclination in the Portugall Ambassadour*; for that he doth believe that *the English fleete hath orders to attaque the Spanish fleete*, as by *the King of Portugalls order*, and under his flag, and yett would make this *alteration*, whereby *De Ruther* may, as *enemy to the King of Portugall*, in that case oppose them.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lo^{ps} most obedient servant,

G. DOWNING.

For the most Hon^{ble} y^e Earle of Clarendon,
Lord High Chancellor of England, London.
These.

LXXX.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Original Draught in the handwriting of Lord Clarendon.*]

S^r,

It is not my fault that you have not hearde from me the 2 last postes: partly my indisposi^{cion}, and partly the straightes I have bene in, by multiplicity of businesse, hath made it impossible for me to be punctuall in the correspondence. I do not know whether I shall answer all the perticulars of yours in order, beinge still interrupted whilst I am writinge, for Harry to putt it in cypher; but I thinke I shall leeve nothinge of moment unanswered.

I shall say no more to the businesse of Portugall, than that I am sure it is not in the Portugalls power to grant the same priviledges in trade to the Dutch which are given to us, without absolutely breakinge the treaty with the Kinge, which I do not conceive them inclined to doe; and therefore I suppose the Ambassadour will have a harder taske ther than he proposes to himselfe. S^r Richard

Fanshaw hath bene hindred, by the common obstruction, from beginning his iourney this weeke; but sure he will be gone the next, well instructed what accounte to give of the Conte de Miranda, to whome the Kinge hath no reason to write, since he communicated so freely with De Witt; but I thinke wee shall have creditt enough to hinder him from returninge to Hollande agayne.

There is one conclusion in your last letter, which the Kinge and all he consultes with heare, believed to be very unreasonable;—that if the Kinge makes a peace with the Dutch, without obleeing the States to restore his nephew to all the offices his father held, the Pr^e of Aurongè is for ever lost and undone; wheras wee conceive that the surest way to preserve the Pr. and to gett him restored is, first to make the peace. I pray upon what grounds, in reason or policy, can the Kinge, in the renewinge a league with the States Generall, demande that they should choose a Generall of his recommendaçon? and what harangues would De Witt make upon that subiect, that the King of England will not make a peace with them excepte he may give them a Generall, Admirall, and Stateholder, who must alwayes remember to whome he owes the benefitt? You have in some former lres told me how much De Witt already workes upon the people, to the preiudice of the Kinge, by such insinuations: and truly, to our understandings, wee can never properly interpose in that affayre, till wee have made a peace with the States Generall, by which all the iealosys which that people may have bene troubled with, must expyre, and beinge restored to ther old security in our friendshipp, they must bee the more disposed to valew and preserve it. Wee may then complayne of all those fowle arts used for the procuringe the act of seclusion, and demande iustice against De Witt, and Beueringer, upon full and manifest complaints. And truly, if I were in ther case, I should thinke myselfe much more in daunger then, than I should do now, when ther is no peace

Orange

concluded. And I must tell you, this appeares heere so much, and so cleere reasons, that wee thinke nothing can be sayd against it ; and therefore I pray speake with the Chancelour Wenman fully upon this subiecte, and I am much deceaved, if he be not cleerely of the same opinion ; and I must tell you, the making this peace (if we can handsomely bring it to passe upon the old foote, which Crüwell went upon, making no mention of those particulars, which will rayse present dispute, and which may be taken up whenever wee thinke fitt to do so) will have an excellent influence heere, and wonderfully compose the mindes of men, who do still apprehende new troubles ; and ther is nothinge the seditious and discontented people do so much feare as a peace with Hollande, from the contrary to which they promise themselves infinite advantages. Add to this, that if that affayre were once established, this deadnesse of trade would be a little releived, and probably the Duch would agayne send ther mony hither for the benefitt of interest, and the dearth of mony heere will be shortly to¹ notorious. In a worde, wee are of opinion, that if this peace can be handsomely made up, and speedily, great conveniences will aryse from it ; and wee may, after 2 or 3 yeares setlinge at home, be in the better posture to do what wee finde fitt. I longe to heare that Weyman and you have conferred at large, and then he will best be able to guesse how the Duch Ambassadors could gett a copy of that treaty. I am confident it was not from honest Sir Nicholas, in whose hands I thinke it only is.

The Kinge is well pleased with the bargayne you have made for 400[£] pe ann^o, and will give order that the mony be punctually payd, and would know (which you may be sure shall be as secrett as it ought to be) who he is, and of what Province.

I do not know that you could do more then you did in

¹ too.

the case of Dandy; yett it is playne, that upon the granting any such warrant, notice will be given to them; but I like your designe well of causing any of them to be arrested, and afterwards they will not so easily gett from you. Do you thinke it of no moment, that the conclusion of the Treaty would quickly free that country of all those rogues? and do you believe they would resyde ther, wher they cannot but be lyable to many affrontes, if they did not finde many conueniencies in it and expectaçõs from it?

You neede not feare any such peace as you mençõn betweene France and Spayne; nor is it probable, that that which is established will last longe; but I will warrant the condiçõs will never be stricter then they are. I am confident the French Ambassadour will speedily receave orders concerninge the Pr^e of Aurange.

Endorsed by Lord Clarendon — "To S^r G.
Downing. Aug. the 16th, 1661.

LXXXI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy in the handwriting of Lord Cornbury.*]

Aug. 30. 1661.

THE discourse you make concerning the P. of Orange, hath much weight in it: but when you consider the present state of our Master; — that we have yet no alliance made with France, Spaine, or the United Provinces; — and the danger that would ensue, if they three should enter into an alliance to our prejudice; — the encouragement and hope that discontented people nourish themselves with, from this unsettled state of the Crowne; it may be, you will thinke that if the Dutch consent to the same treaty with the King w^{ch}

Cromwell consented to with them, such a forme of an alliance should not be declined for the present. And I doe confesse to you, 'tis want of understanding in me, if we are not readier to demand justice for the P. of Orange, against that act of seclusion, after that graff¹ alliance, than we can be before; and I beleieve De Witt will be lesse able to shelter himselfe against the crimes we shall charge him with, concerning that affaire, than he would be now, if we should mingle that pticular affaire with the graff peace. I pray remember the streights and necessitys we are in for money, the emptinesse of all our stores and magazines, and when all these shall be replenished, how easy it will be to fall out with any we have a mind to. In the meane time, I thinke we should anger as few as is possible. I am heartily sorry that M^r Weyman is not yet come to you. I am deceived, if he be not of the same mind wth me, and if he doth not thinke y^t we shall better deale with De Witt and that caball, after the alliance is made, than before. However, you may be assured that when every thing else is adjusted, the King will very maturely deliberate whether it be fitt, before he concludes to make his positive demand concerning his nephew; and I am yet very confident, that the King of France will joyne very heartily with y^e King our master, to promote the interest of the P. of Orange, and in such a manner as we shall desire.

I thanke you for your overtures concerning the revennue, upon w^{ch} I will enlarge my discourse to you shortly. My L^d Treasurer is now out of towne, but will be here on Tuesday next, and I shall then be very instant with him concerning your particular, for you deserve all encouragement, and I am confident will receive it. I pray be as vigilant as is possible, upon these people that come out of England. Sure the sceane of that affaire would be quite changed, if the Treaty were concluded.

¹ general.

LXXXII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Original Draught in the handwriting of Lord Clarendon.*]

7th 6th, 1661.

I CAN add little to what I have say'd in my former letters. All heere are of opinion, that in his coniuncture of affayers, it will be best to finish the Treaty with the Dutch, upon the old foote, which is left by Cromwell; so that if they do not delay, nor insiste on any thinge unreasonable (which will never be submitted to), wee shall suddaynly conclude; and we are all of opinion, that as this is necessary for the publique, so it is as necessary for the P^r of Aurange his particular; and that which cannot be seasonable, whilst the Treaty is in suspense, will be very proper, so soone as it is concluded, — which is, to fall upon De Witt and Beveringe, for w^{ch} we are very ready, with such evidence as they will not be able to answer; and this methode sure will be best.

LXXXIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Original Draught in the handwriting of Lord Clarendon.*]

8th 25. 1661.

S^r,

I HAVE yours of the 28, and am very sorry that M^r Weyman is left sicke at Cleues, for, if I am not deceived, his

presence at the Hague is most necessary; and if you two concerte well together, you will be tod harde for De Witt himselfe. Wee know all that I writt you concerninge De Witt to be very true, and therfore shall make no scruple of charging him with it; but whether in such an affayre so direct an euidence can be giuen as shall satisfy a people, that resolve not to believe it, I know not. It is not to be imagined that wee have any thinge under his hande, his direction beinge alwayes to Beveringe, and Beveringe by words of mouth advizinge Crumwell and Thurlow: and when the order of the Stats was sent to withholde the Acte of seclusion, it was sent all in cypher to Youngstall; and whilst he was decipheringe, Beveringe, by advize from De Witt, delivered it to Crumwell; and this wee can proove, with many other particulars of the highest importance, by him who was Secr^y to De Witt, and stands now banished, and shall be produced when tyme serves. But if they have an aversyon frō the enquiry, all wee can offer will be reiected.

Wee do not advance in the treaty, the Ambassadors not pressinge, and seeminge resolute not to send commisioners hither to adiust damages, and wee beinge resolute not to departe from that Article, upon your advize. And truly, there is no reason, why the very Article they allowed Crumwell, upon that affayre, should not now be insisted: and that article would serve our turne.

When you send the draught of such a letter as you thinke fitt for the Kinge, on the behalfe of the P^{ce} of Orange, it shall be quickly dispatched; and though I cannot be confident of any thinge in France, the Kinge beinge younge and humorous enough, yett I have some reason to believe he will not disoblige our Master, nor be ouer forward to vnite with the Duch, and that he will appeare frankely for the Pr. of Aurange. But he will be

angry if M^r Dona be sent into Aurange, or into France, of which I wish you rather to conferr with Mo^r Weymans then with the Dowager, who I believe is passyonably inclined to her nephew, against whome I haue not the least prejudice; but I finde evidently the Kinge of France hath so much that all businesse will miscarry by it, of which I have at large informed Mo^r Weyman.

Wee have concluded and signed the Treaty with Swede, as I suppose the Secretarys advize you; and truly I do not thinke that Sweden is over much inclined to the Dutch or French, or that they will be ingaged against us.

LXXXIV.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to THE COMTE D'ESTRADES.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

MONSIEUR,

DANS l'estat ou je suis, accablé de la goutte, je me serois dispensé de vous donner cette importunité, si une affaire que le Roy mon maistre a beaucoup à cœur, et en laquelle il a un interest bien grand, ne m'y obligeoit. On a depuis peu receu une despesche à la Haye de Portugal avec la ratification de la paix², à la reserve de quelques articles qui nous regardent principalement, et où on demande du

¹ Godefroi Comte D'Estrades began to serve in the French army at the age of 19; was made Governor of Dunkirk in October, 1650; the same year was made Lieutenant General of the army of Flanders, and in 1655 Lieutenant General of the province of Guienne; was sent Ambassador from France to England in 1661, and again in the following year, when he negotiated the purchase of Dunkirk for France; was afterwards Ambassador for France in Holland; and one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Breda in 1667; was created Maréchal de France in 1675; was appointed Ambassador and Plenipotentiary at the conference at Nemiguen, where he concluded a treaty in 1678. Died, Feb. 26. 1686, aged 79.

² Not in cipher, but underlined in the manuscript.

temps pour les ajuster; et comme il n'y a rien que le Roy souhaite avec plus de passion, que de maintenir une bonne correspondance entre ces deux nations, il fera ses efforts pour qu'il n'y arrive aucune rupture par cette occasion, et vous prie d'user des moiens que vous jugerez estre les plus efficaces, pour empescher que les Estats Generaux se precipitent à se brouiller avec le Portugal. / Votre Ex. aura deja recue les desmarches que nous avons deja faites dans l'affaire du Baron de Batteville; et je n'adjouteray autre chose, si ce n'est, que la satisfaction que le Roy pretend de donner en cuy à sa Ma^{ty} surpassera ce qu'on en attende. L'esperance que nous avons d'attrapper les principaux chefs, dont on veut faire une punition exemplaire, fait qu'on ne se met pas trop en peine de prendre la canaille.¹

mes p. de

Endorsed — "A M^r Destrades, 21 Nov. 1661."

¹ The following draught of a communication to the Spanish Ambassador, in the handwriting of Lord Clarendon, is extant in the Bodleian Library, and is probably that which is alluded to in his letter to D'Estrades.

"Message sent to the Spanish Ambassador 15. Nov. 61."

That his Ma^{ty} is informed by the L^d Ch. Justice of Englande, by the informac'on his Lo^{pp} hath receaved and the examinac'ons he hath taken, that severall of his subjects have been levyed by orders of the Ambassadour and by persons employed by him, and that very many of them besydes those who wore his livery were hyred by him the day of the entry of the Swedes Ambassadour, whereby many of his Ma^{ty}'s owne subiects as well as strangers lost their lyues.

2. That his Ma^{ty} findes by good intelligence, that the Ambassadour hath tampered with many of his subiects, and employed them contrary to his Ma^{ty}'s expresse pleasure signified to him, that he would not any of his owne subiects to be engaged in that contest; and that the Ambassadour hath bene bolder in his reflexions on his Ma^{ty}'s person and his counsellors then he ought to be, or then can be iustified under any priuiledges claymed by Ambassadors.

3. That this demeanour of the Ambassadors compelles his Ma^{ty} to call to minde his unwarrantable and sedicious behaviour, in the printing and publishing severall papers in May last, to discompose the mindes of the people and the souldyers, and to alienate ther affections from his Ma^{ty}.

Therefore that his Ma^{ty} is resolved to complayne to his brother the Kinge of Spayne, of this demeanour of his Ambassadour, and to requyre iustice for such his misbehaviour, which he doubtles not he will see done,

and recall a person who hath so much dishonoured him, and violated the law of nations.

In the mean tyme, it is his Ma^{ty}'s pleasure that the Ambassadour shall not presume to come to his courtes; and he will cause a strict enquiry to be made what subjects of his owne resort to the Ambassadors house, wher he hath to much cause to suspecte so much insolence is contriued toward his Ma^{ty} and the peace of the kingdome.

If any thinge concerns the seruice of the Catholique King to be offred to his Ma^{ty}, any memoriall to that purpose may be sent to ether of his Secretaries, and therupon such answer shall be returned as is consonant.

LXXXV.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy in the handwriting of Lord Cornbury.*]

9ber 22. 1661.

I MUST now give you in charge by the King's speciall direction, that you use all possible dilligence and dexterity in this great affaire of Portugall, in w^{ch} they have behaved themselves with such remarkable affection and deference to the King our master, that they have ventured all their own peace and quiett upon his pleasure. They have not ratified the Treaty as you were informed, but have taken further time to consider of those two Articles w^{ch} concerne the freedome of trade to the East and West Indyes, w^{ch} you know is upon our only concernment. Now you must know, that there was a provision by the Treaty, that if the K. of Port. should for the present not thinke fitt to ratify those particulars, he should be obliged to doe it within one yeare, or to make some equivalent compensation for it. How the Dutch will resent this delay, I know not; but it will be very unhappy for Port. and for us, if they should immediately denounce a warr against them. Therefore you are to watch their motions with all possible vigilance; and, as there shall be occasion, you are

to moove the States in the King's name, and to lett them know that his Ma^{ty} having entered into so neere and strict an allyance with Port. as the taking the daughter of that Crowne to his wife, it will be an unspeakable misfortune unto him, to find a warr entered into, soe unseasonably, between that Crowne and his so neere allys the United Provinces; for prevention whereof his Ma^{ty} doth offer his mediation, and will interpose therein soe effectually, that if the States shall consent thereunto, his Ma^{ty} doubts not but within the time limited by the Treaty (w^{ch} is a yeare) the States shall either receive full satisfaction, in the pticulars they desire, or equivalent compensation to their owne content. You must sett all your witts on worke to prevent this warr, w^{ch} will produce a thousand mischieves, in w^{ch} the Dutch will undergoe their full share; nor can there any good Dutchman desire that Portugall should be so distressed as to fall againe into the hands of the Spaniards.

LXXXVI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy in the handwriting of Lord Cornbury.*]

xber 13th, 1661.

S^r,

I SUPPOSE you found by Harry the last weeke, that yours then came to me but an houre before, so that it was impossible for me then to acknowledge it. I have since recd your other by the last post; and before I say any thing to either, lett me tell you that yesterday the Dutch Amb^r sent me for an audience, and spake to me of the two ships, the Charles and the Experience; and made a

long discourse to me of the fundamentalls of their Government, and how necessary it was that all processe should be tryed before the proper Iudicatorys, and desired that they might not be pressed to swarve from those established rules; — that, for the Charles, they had given very precise and strict orders to the Admiralty, for the speedy doing of justice, and for the strict examination of all injurys: if this being done, we should have further cause to complaine, they would then proceede as we should desire: — for the Experience, because you had complained of somewhat done amisse in the processe of justice, they had appointed (though it were extraordinary) that Coñmissioners should treat with you; but the proceeding thereupon was yett ineffectual, because you insisted upon some formalitys and ceremonys, w^{ch} they could not consent to; and yett they had offered to observe the same rules towards you, w^{ch} they had and doe observe towards Mr Friquett the Envoye Extraordinary from the Emperor.

I told them that for the first, (the Charles,) I could say no more, but that their Admiralty had soe ill a report, that men thought it losse of time, and losse of moñey, to expect justice there, and therefore it was no wonder, if you had desired, for shortning the worke, that coñmissioners might be appointed to ioyn with you for the determination; but that if they would insist upon that formality of passing through the Admiralty, we must be content, till we had further cause of complaint, w^{ch} would be, as soone as they had given any sentence. They desired me to beleve better of the justice of their countrey. For the other point, in the matter of ceremony, I told them, you had had long experience in that countrey, and, I presumed, would insist on noe more then what is dew to the quality you hold, and that you did not require more then is given to the Emperors Minister, if he be under

the same qualification with you, w^{ch} they affirme to be the case; and this is all that passed between us.

I have the same confidence I had of France, that it will enter into no obligation to the prejudice of our Master, and that it will appeare for the advancement of the Pr. of Oranges pretences.

If I knew upon what grounds you mention the overture of a match between K. of Portugall and the Pr^{ce} of Orange, I know what to say to it. I must confesse to you, it hath been mooved to me, that the King would make the overture; but the consideration of religion, and the apprehension that it would be rejected, and that the very offer might be ungratefull to the States, and especially some generall discourse I held with Mons. Weiman, made me totally decline the discourse. But if you can assure me, that the Dowager would give any encouragement to it, — I mean such an encouragement as that the issue would probably be such as would be desired, — I am persuaded, I could quickly againe be desired to gett the King to appeare in it; therefore thinke well what is to be done.

LXXXVII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Original Draught in the handwriting of Lord Clarendon.*]

Jan. 3^d, 1661.

S^r,

BOTH yours of the 30th xber and 6th Jan.¹ recev^d so late together the last night, that it was 12 of the clock before they were disipher'd, and therefore you will not wonder,

¹ Dec. 20th and 27th, O. S.

if ther be not in this a full answer to all particulers conteyned in those 2 longe dispatches; yett I think I have answered the most important parte, where I have told you, *that upon the arrivall of S^r Ri. Fanshaw*¹, and the representaçons he makes of the ill condition of Portugall, if they should be suddaynely ingaged in a warr with Hollande, and upon his Ma^{ty}s full consideraçon, how harde a thinge it would appeare to the world for that naçon to be overwhelmed with that warr (which they would quickly be), and his Ma^{ty} not as readily ingage himsele in it against the Dutch, which I thinke you do not beleve would be very seasonable for our affayres,—I say, upon all this, his Ma^{ty} is resolved not to insist on what he might reasonably doe, in the pointe, but to be content (if you finde the Dutch cannot be persuaded to accepte the Kings interposiçon and engagement) that they shall have equivalent recompence, within one yeare, for what is not granted at present, according to the last article of the Treaty; but if that they will thereupon breake and declare a warr, then his Ma^{ty} is well pleased that the Conde de Miranda² ratifies and confirms the Treaty, in the manner they insist upon; the King presuming that the King of Portugall will consent that some equivalent recompence be made by him to the King our master, for the damage his subiects must sustayne, by the equall priviledges the Dutch are to receave with the English. And in the whole conducte of this, you are to assiste and ioyn with the Conde de Miranda, in such a manner as he thinkes and findes necessary for his masters affayers: and the King hath receaved so good assurances from the King and Qu. of Portugall, and the Queene our mistresse, of the Conde de Mirandas affection for the King our masters service, that you are to lett him know that his Ma^{ty} is well satisfied therewith, and expects all iust offices from him, and assures

¹ Underlined in the manuscript.

² Portuguese Ambassador at the Hague.

him of his good opinion, and upon that confidence hath given you this iniunction of concurring with him in all thinges, that may prevent that warr.

You must not suffer the Conde de Miranda to imagine, that the King our master, by his condescencions upon this exigent of Portugal, doth not parte with any thinge he can iustly insiste on; for nothing is clearer, than that by the Treaty with Cromwell, which is ratifyed and renewed by the first article of ours, ther is expresse provision that the Dutch shall not enioy the same priviledges with this naçõn; and therfore we cannot doubt, but to receave other compensation. I pray God all may serve turne, to prevent the warr betweene Portugall and the Dutch, and that the Dutch do not serve us some tricke to imbroyle us: for though I do not feare the creditt of De Witt so farr, as that he can be able to dispose the States Generall, or it may be, not the States of Holland, to declare a warr against England, yett I do feare both his power and his crafte so farr, as that he may cause such orders to be sent to the commanders abroad, as may produce such a warr before wee are aware of it; for I pray, was it not an odd order to De Ruiter, that he should assiste the Spanish fleete, if the English should attacke it? and it is beleived that he hath at present sent orders which relate to Tangier, and my Lo. Sandwich.

You haue so well instructed me in the business of the 2 shipp^s¹, of which I knew nothing before, (that affayre havinge bene transacted duringe my indisposition,) that we shall not be moved by anythinge the Ambassadors shall say, no more then in the matter of the ceremony; but they shall, upon the first occasyon, know the Kings sense in both, and you will pursue the course you thinke best.

Indeede, it is ill done to suffer any unseasonable de-

¹ The Bonadventure and Bona Esperanza.

maunde to be made at present for what may be dew from this Crowne to the P^r of Aurange, and no doubt Odarte must be in the faulte. You may present my humble service to the P^r Dowager, and lett her know as from me, that Conde de Miranda hath instruction to sett a Treaty on foote concerninge the marryage; that I was much pressed by the Ambassadour that was heare, to have mouved the Kinge to interpose in that affayre, but I found no ground to hope, that there would be any composition in the matter of religion, for it is impossible for Portugall to admitt any liberty in that pointe, whatever they may pretende, and therefore I durst not encourage him to hope for any successe. If, upon what the Conde de Miranda proposed, the Dowager findes any reason to like it, I will then mouve the King to appeare in it, the way she most desyres.

X

LXXXVIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 20 Jan. 1662.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORD^s,

THE Levant merchants have this weeke written to the States Gen^l, to let them know that they were preparing their list, but y^t it was not yet ready; and my Lord giue me leaue to tell you, Dewitt is now no way able directly, nor indirectly, downe right, nor by any devices, to engage this cuntry in a warr with the King of England. This I dare positively write, upon my life: indeed, if he can worke so as to make it appeare, and be thought heare, that the King of England is affraide of it, this is the ready way to it, for that that would make him presumptuous. But lett the

King of England continue firme, where he hath justice on his side, and they will doe him justice, and, if otherwise, not, but in stead thereof doe him one injury after another, of which what can be y^e issue but warr at last? and for y^e businesse of Commissioners, the Princess Dowager told me this weeke, y^t they would grant them, which is more then ever she said to me before.

It is true y^e instructions concerning the Spanish fleete was an odd one; but I pray consider y^t at least one third of y^e fleete (I meane y^e plate) belonged to this country: but y^t is y^e least. But my Lord give me leave to tell you, y^t they looke upon the King of England quite otherwise now than then. He hath the reputation now of the twelve hundred thousand pounds¹, which is much more then the mo^oney it selfe; and now they begin to beleeeve that his Ma^{ty} is settled, and I have to make them see that the King of England will not be baffled or abused by them: and this alone is the true way to keepe peace here, and not by yeilding to them against all honour and justice, which onely makes them the more insolent; and the ending of one dispute soe shall be found to be no other yⁿ the beginning of twenty worse. This, my Lord, you will finde to be the truth: and for Tanger De Ruyther hath no instructions; and if my friends be encouraged, you need not feare the passing anything to the prejudice of the King of England without my knowledge. But truly they beginn to looke strangely upon me, I having soe often promised them mo^oney², and none yett co^ming, which I humbly lay before yo^r Lord^{sh}. Men will not do things of this nature for noething; and y^e so timely knowing that one resolution concerning y^e Spanish fleete, was worth all this charge: and De Witt had caused it to be put into the iron chest, y^t no clearke should haue any copy thereof: and my friend Haren

¹ Voted by the House of Commons as the yearly revenue of the Crown.

² It appears from subsequent letters, that the money here required was for secret intelligence.

causing the procuring of y^t resolution concerning y^e busi-
nesse of Commissioners was a high service.

My Lord, y^r Lordships most obed^t
humb. serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

These. For the most Hon^{ble} the Earle of Clarendon,
Lord High Chancellor of England, London.

x LXXXIX.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy in the handwriting of Lord Cornbury.*]

Jan. 17. 1661-2.

I MUST not forget to give you one advertisement w^{ch}
concerns yourselfe, and in a particular in w^{ch} you cañot use
too much caution. I have often told you, that we haue
some reason to beleeeve very well of the affection of France
to all the K^t concernments, and I am still of the same
opinion. But all is done from the Hague that's possible
to divert that inclination, and to that purpose frequent in-
sinuations are made of your discourses there, against
France, and to the undervalewing that friendship; and I have
my selfe seene the extract of a letter from y^e Hague, to
France, y^t you, in discourse with the person that writt y^t
tre, spoke very slightingly of the K. of France, and won-
dered that the Dutch should presse the K. of Fr. to enter
into the guarranty for their fishing, and that you sayd, that
there was reason for the Dutch to insist upon their fishing,
w^{ch} they were always in possession of, and w^{ch} the King of
England never meant to deny them; but that he could
not iñagine that he would ever suffer the K. of France to
fish, who was so farr from being in possession of it, that he

had never presumed to send out a boate without a licence; and therefore, to entitle him to a guarrantie, must obstruct their owne pretences; and there is nothing alledged in excuse of entertaining those overtures from the Dutch, but that S^r G. Downing hath in severall memorialls consented that the right of fishing was in them, and that his M^r never meant to interrupt them. I am sure there is noe ground for these suggestions; and I hope I have done enough to undeceive the French in this matter: yet I thinke the advertisement very necessary to you, y^t you may both make some judgement from whom this advertisement is sent from the Hague, w^{ch} you will be able to doe, and that you may keep such a guard upon your selfe, as that nothing may fall from you in confidence to any man, as may make the French jealous of your owne particular affection.

XC.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 10th Febru. 1662.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LORDSHIP,
THE Estates of Holland are conveyned to be y^e 21st instant, for to take a finall resolution concerning the Treaties wth England and France, which are y^e maine businesses here in hand, so that till then here will be no change. In the meane time there appears an universall inclination to recall their Amb^r in France; those of Holland saying positively that nothing but y^e hopes of guaranty of the fishery could have ever induced them to have proposed the making such a Treaty wth France; and for the most, if not all the

other Provinces, they do rather desire that the King of France would refuse this guaranty, that so they might handsomly breake off that Treaty; they beginning all now to say that France is a country whose interest is warre, and, on the contrary, they here are a people whose onely interest is trade, and in order thereunto peace with all their neighbors; and y^t they see plainly y^t if this Treaty were once made, they must be in continuall warre: and, as yo^r Lord^p will perceive by the enclosed from the Dutch Ambⁿ in France, they do giue no hope of obtaining more than was in the former. If the King of France do sticke firme, it is probable y^t that Treaty will be quickly at an end, and they will think of a Treaty wth common alliance with France. And they do thinke that when y^e King of France shall see plainly that they will breake off this Treaty, that he will yet yield to guarrant the fishery, they do think it to be so highly important and advantageous in France: whereas for my owne part I do thinke y^t y^e advantage thereof is on their side. There is therein a clause that they shall for y^e future, in all things in point of trade, be treated as naturall French men; and upon the account of other concernes, these people being onely upon the defensive against Spaine and y^e House of Austria, it would serve them as a certain bulwark; but on the other hand, France being upon y^e offensive, it will do him¹ no good. And wthout doubt his view is upon Flanders: and it's undoubted, that let them make what Treaty they will with him, yet when ever he shall go about y^e reducing of y^t country to himselfe, they will oppose him.

For the Treaty wth his Ma^{ty}, I shall say no more of it, till I have an answer of what I wrote in my last, which I hope I shall have by y^e next; and if y^t way be approved, I hope to be able to put that businesse to a speedy issue; and it is as certaine as y^e other; and all that can be of

¹ The King of France.

difference is onely 2 or 3 moneths time, and whether that it is entertained : but which way so ever his Ma^y thinks fitt to go, it shall be my business to second, and put forward his intentions to my uttmost.

Degraffe sayd lately to De Witt, that he would make all the people their ennemys, and ruine all by going so downe-right against the Prince of Orange ; and told him he was too violent. My friend Haren is this day gone to Frize to the assembly of the States of Frize, and will cause farther vigorous resolutions to be taken in relation to the Treaty with the King of England; and he beleeves his Province will be for recalling the Ambassadors in France : but I advised him not to be to¹ forward in the businesse, least the King of France should think that the Provinces best affected to the Pr. of Orange should be the cause of y^e breaking off the Treaty with him,—but to let Holland lead on the vann, in which they would also be the more eager, if that they saw y^t y^e other *Provinces* did only follow them therein ; whereas if *Frize* should *beginn*, y^t it would be thought to come from *me*, and might worke a quite contrary effect than was intended.

I am,
My Lord, your Lordships most
obed. humb. serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

These. For the most Hon^{ble} the Earle of
Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of
England, London.

¹ too.

XCI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Original Draught in the handwriting of Lord Clarendon.*]

Feb. 7th, 1661-2.

S^r,

Yours of the 3. came to me the last weeke so little tyme before the posts departure, that I could not then acknowledge it myselfe, and this weeke I have none from you. Before I say any thinge to your last, lett me putt you in minde, that as soone as S^r Ri. Fanshaw arryved here, and that his Ma^y founde it by no means fitt to engage Portugall in a warr with Holland, when it could not be fitt for his Ma^y to engage with them in the same warr, I told you the King would rather consent to the Articles formerly adjusted between Portugal and the Duch, and be contente that the Duch should inioy equall libertye in trade with us (and depende upon equivalent compensa^on frō Portugall), than oblige them to a warr; and therefore I advised you to proccede with all franknesse with the Ambassador; and if you could not, upon the Kings interposition, prevayle with them to giue a years tyme, according to a provisyon in that Treaty, then the Ambassador should presently consent to the publishing that peace he had formerly consented to, and so putt an end to all present disputes. I finde the Ambassador ther doth not know that you have receaved any such orders, and writes wonderfull troubled letters hither, to the Portugall Ambassadors brother who is here, who hath sent me the inclosed paper within these 5 dayes. It is to no purpose to keepe yourselfe so reserved to him; and yet I do not think fitt to tell him heare, or to suffer S^r Ri. Fanshaw to tell the Ambassador ther, what

your orders are; but I pray, your selfe communicate in such a manner with him, as he may be at ease, and that our master fall not under any reproch by what Portugal may suffer; but putt that businesse at quyott as soon as may be.

Yours of 10¹ came to me but this day noone, so that I have scarce tyme to reade them, nor indeed have I yet reade the Dowagers; therefore you must excuse me in that respecte to her Highn¹. I haue not tyme to inlarge now upon the bussinesse of the Treaty heare: I shall do it in my next. It is high time it were finished; and if such an overture be made by them as you mençõn, I know not but it may be receaved. I had somewhat more to add, but I am interrupted by the Portugall Ambassadors brother, who bringes me now, after 8 of the clock at night, a letter from the Conde Miranda, wherin he laments exceedingly the not having the Kings consent to publish the peace, according to that he agreed, before his leavinge that country, and frõ which the Dutch will not suffer him to recede in the least degree, or longer to delay. I pray putt him out of his payne, that we may avoyde all clamour, upon the consequence. God keep you.

XCII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy in the handwriting of Lord Cornbury.*]

Feb. 14. 1664.

THE King hath by this last post recd a letter from the Condé de Miranda, and I haue likewise another from him to the same purpose, in w^{ch} he doth exceedingly lament

¹ January 31. O. S.

the want of the Kings directions and orders how to behaue himselfe, and seemes to apprehend as great mischeif to his Masters affaires in that delay as can be i^magined. Now the King is very much troubled, nor doe I knowe what answer to give on your behalfe, why you have not, or why you did not, from the first houre after you rec^d your orders, lett the Ambassador know frankely that you were to concurr with him, in whatsoever he judged necessary for his Masters service, that soe the King our master may be without the least reproach for any inconvenience that may, fall out. And as I signified this to you as cleerely as is possible, in my first lre to you after the Condé Miranda's arrivall, so we made as much hast in giving notice into Portugall, that the King had sent such directions to you, that soe their mindes might be composed, from the apprehensions they had of mischeif for the want of it; and it must needs be matter of great amazement to them, and to the lessening our creditt, that after having rec^d such possitiue assurance from us in a particular of that importance, they should have reason to conclude from their Ambassadors lres that no such orders are sent. I pray lett me know what answer I shall give the King for this, w^{ch} I tell you againe gives him much trouble, and he expects you should lett the Amb^r know that the fault hath not bene here: and to that purpose I have not been able to avoyd, this day, in answer to the Amb^r's lres both to the King and my selfe, to lett him know, that you have very positive directions to concurr with him in whatsoever he findes necessary for his Masters service; and that no consideration of da^mage or inconvenience to this nation, can weigh with his Ma^{ty} to the prejudice of the King of Portugall. For the naming of Bombain to the Dutch, it is entirely left to your and the Amb^r's discretion, there being no objection against it on our part: but without all doubt, it is most necessary that the conclusion be out of hand made with the Dutch, that these ships that are now

ready for the Indys may carry the news of it, and it may possibly cause a lesse strength to be sent thither.

I haue no objection to make against the expedient proposed by De Witt. In Gods name, lett so many moneths be allowed, for the making a good agreement; and I am perswaded you may be able in that time to bring much to passe for the mutuall satisfaction of party's; but at the expiration of that terme, that Coñmissioners be sent over for the determination, w^{ch} is a conclusion the King can never depart from; and if this expedient be proposed, by the Amb^r here, I am confident it will be accepted. I am sure, I will do all I can towards it. I am sure it is high time that Treaty should be concluded, for many reasons, both at home and abroad; therefore I pray hasten itt all you can, without seeming to be earnest for it.

I know not what the Dutch may promise themselves, or rather seeme to promise themselves, though in truth they doe not; but I doe still beleeeve, that the King of France will never enter into that guarrantie for their fishing, or doe any thing else that shall giue the King cause to take any thing unkindly of him, except some ill accident should fall out in our domestick affaires; and that, no doubt, will make an alteration, in those who pretend best to us.

X

XCIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

11th Ap^l, 1662.

S^r,

YOURS of the 28th of the last moneth came to my hands not halfe an hour before the departure of y^e post, and I haue since receđ your other of the 4th of this moneth; and

I can now tell you that I doe beleeeve y^e Queene our M^y does embarke about this very day; for such was hir resolution when our last letters came from thence, which arrived here within 8 dayes; and then y^e Spanyard was not in motion, but had newly lost a convoy, w^{ch} was taken by Mon^r Schomberg, in w^{ch} a 100 waggons of amunition were taken.

This afternoone or tomorrow, the Com^{rs} meete wth the Dutch Ambassad^r, to let them know y^t y^e King consents to the expedient for 4 and 8 monthes for y^e endeavouring all other wayes of satisfaction to those who have receed injuries; and if at y^e expiration of y^t terme, there shall be no accomodation, then Co^mmissioners shall be sent, w^{ch} Com^{rs}, I suppose, will be named on both sides in an Article of the Treaty; and this being consented to by his Ma^{ty}, I hope no other disputes will arise from y^e Ambassadors, so y^t I cannot but looke upon y^t affaire as concluded. And I could be very glad y^t y^a had any invitation from thence to receive overtures from y^e East India Companie there, for a good understanding between y^e two Companies; to w^{ch} I heare y^e Companie there is well disposed, and not onely ready to allow reasonable recompense for damages sustayned; but so to ascertain y^e trade for the future, and dividing the pepper between them, as will bring a great benefit to y^e King our master, and to y^e Companie here.

I am very glad y^t y^e Treaty is not yet concluded wth France, nor doe we finde y^e Spaniard so hard hearted as Don Stephano seemes to be: our merchants had never better treatment than they have now in Spaine; and y^e civilities our fleete hath received, hath been marvellously usefull to us, so y^t wee have great reason to commend their good nature.

XCIV.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY EUER HONORED LORD,

YESTERDAY the Dukes letter was sent in soe greate hast, that I had scarce tyme to scribble one word to y^e King of o^r arrivall. This morninge I haue a little tyme to give y^r Lo^{pp} thanks for all y^r L^{pps} noble favors unto mee, the continuance whereoff my cosen Mountagu gave me assured testimonyes off. My Lord, y^e memorye of y^r Lo^{pps} goodnesse to mee, from y^e beginninge of them to this present, the foundation of any good fortune I and my family find, shall never decay, but whilst I live I will pay y^e tribute of most faithfull affectionate service to y^r Lo^{pp}, to whom my obligations are so infinite.

Give me leave to congratulate wth y^r Lo^{pp} y^e happy successe of o^r voyage, that after some tyme and difficulties the Queene is safely landed and in very good health, w^{ch} is very wonderfull consideringe y^e length of her Ma^{ty}s passage over y^e sea, and stormye weather, and o^rther disacomodations to a person y^t scarce ever was out of y^e Pallace doore before. Y^r Lo^{pps} letter I delivered unto her Ma^{tie}, and made y^r excuse that y^r Lo^{pp} did not attend her Ma^{ties} arrivall at Hampton Court. Her Ma^{tie} is abundantly possessed of y^r Lo^{pps} kindnesse unto her from y^e beginninge of this affaire, and expresseth as much gratitude, as I can possibly tell y^r Lo^{pp}. She will write soe much wth her owne hand, and give mee y^e honor to convey it, w^{ch} shall be done as soone as can be. I have told her Ma^{tie} y^e advise y^r Lo^{pp} directed by M^r Mountagu. She accepts therof, and will follow it; and not only in this, but all alonge, will cast her selfe upon y^r Lo^{pps} counsell; and the Queene Regent

bade mee assure y^r Lo^{pp} it should be soe, and y^t she had given her daughter that charge.

The Queene, as soone as she came to her lodgings, received my Lady Suffolke and y^e Ladyes very kindly, and appointed them this morninge to come and putt her in that habit they thought would be most pleasing to y^e Kinge; and I doubt not, but when they have done there parts, she will appeare wth much more advantage, and very well to y^e Kinges contentment. She is a Prince¹ of extraordinary goodnesse of disposition, very discreete and pious, and y^e most hopes that ever was of makinge y^e Kinge and us all happy.

The Portion business stands as I thinke I formerly gave y^r Lo^{pp} an account. Some 200,000*℥*² wee have spent wth y^e fleete at Lisbone. There is about 400,000*℥* in sugars, plate, and jewells on board y^e fleete, and about 400,000*℥* more in bills of exchange. The man y^t is to make all good (Duarte de Silua³) is landed here wth us.

The plate, jewells, and bills of exchange are yett in y^e shippes that are here. The sugars are sent into y^e river of Thames, wth order from his R^l H^t y^t nothings be unloaded untill further order from him.

Now I desire by y^e next opportunitye to receive y^r Lo^{pps} directions whether, in case the Embassador and Duarte de Silua doe desire to have y^e jewells and letters of exchange delivered them here, because they be of easye portage and perhapp may runn lesse hazard by land then by sea, whether they may be delivered them, because the Treatye oblidges y^e Kinge to carry them into y^e river of Thames.

Next, y^r Lo^{pp} will please to advise what direction his

¹ Sic.

² The coin in which the amount is stated is the Portuguese crown, the value of which was about five shillings English money. The 1,000,000 crowns here mentioned was only a moiety of the portion, of which portion the stipulated amount was £500,000. (See p. 120.)

³ Called by Lord Clarendon, "Diego Silvas, a Jew of great wealth and full credit at Amsterdam."

Highnesse shall give for y^e delivery of y^e sugars to such persons as Duarte de Silua shall appointe, whether they are to pay customes, and whether somethinge of new securitie be not to be given y^e Kinge by Duarte de Silua, before y^e goods y^t are brought be putt out of y^e Kinges possession.

This is offered for y^r Lo^{pp}s consideration onely, and such comānds as y^r Lo^{pp} shall send, in these or any other things, shall be performed faithfully to my best abilityes. Whilest I breathe y^r Lo^{pp} shall find me as faithfull as I am,

My ever Honored Lord,

Y^r Lo^{pp}s

Most obliged & most obedient
humble servant,

SANDWICH.

May 15. 1662.

XCV.

LORD RUTHERFORD¹ to CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAIESTIE,

IMMEDIATELY after the receipt of your Ma. commands, I dispatched Sir Bernard de Gome away accordingly, thoe he was necessarie heer, we being at the beginning of our carriage of this years works, pyloting our fondations, the which will cost infinitie of moneys: and I am afrayed we sall not be so soon warranted from the exchequer (unless your Ma. have pitie on us); therefor doe I manage to the last farthen, which maketh me pass heer for a narrow hearted covetous fellow, which, with many other fyn caracters they put on one, will oblige me at last to become a good Christian in pardoning them y^t scandalizeth one. If God spaer us dayes, others, officers and sogers both, sall serve

¹ Lord Rutherford was at this time Governor of Dunkirk; he was afterwards created Earl of Teviot, and made Deputy Governor of Tangier, where he was killed by a party of Moors in ambush, in May, 1664.

your Ma. by a principle of zeal and affection, and not of interest, as I sall leav few of them in this place unchanged. Make a divell of me if they will, if your Ma. interest and love be well established here, I have gained every point, whatever be my condition, to be and die most cheerfully, y^r Ma.

Most humble, most obedient, most faithfull
Subject and creature,

RUTHERFORD.

Dunkirk, May $\frac{1}{2}$, 1662.

XCVI.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY EVER HONORED LORD,

SCINCE y^e receipt of y^r Lo^{pp} of May 16 (for w^{ch} I returne my most humble and thankfull acknowledgements), wee have bene made happy by the Kinge o^r Masters presence, who came to this Towne about 3 o'clock in y^e afternoone of this day. I had y^e honor to attend upon him into y^e Queenes chamber; her Ma^{tie} keepinge her bedd, by reason of a sore throate, and a little fev'ish distemper gotten by a cold here. Their meetinge was wth due expressions of affection, and y^e Queene declaringe her perfect resignation to y^e King's pleasure. I observed as much as this short tyme permitts, and I do beleeeve this first interview hath beene wth much contentment on both sides, and that wee are like to be very happy in this conjunction. The matter of consumation of y^e marriage is adiusted to satisfaction, as y^r Lo^{pp} will hear from my L^d of Portland and others. Too morrow, if y^e Queene be well, it will be performed.

After my last letter was sent, I received a paper signed by y^e Queene, y^t I should deliver y^e jewells brought over into y^e hands of Duarte de Silua (the reason priuate was

that she might have the use of some of them to weare). Upon y^e sudden, y^e best refuge I had was to aske y^e directions of his Royall Highness and those of the councell heare in towne, and unto them I opened y^e state of y^e portion; and it was concluded, that (because y^e Treaty requires y^e deliverye of them in the river of Thames) y^e Ambassador should, in writinge to mee, signify y^e desire of his Master to have them delivered here, and y^t by such delivery y^e Treaty should, in y^t regard, be held performed by y^e Kinge, w^{ch} writinge he sent mee accordingly; and then Duarte de Silua produced his procuration from y^e Kinge of Portugall to receive y^e goods in y^e river of Thames, and I gave order to y^e Captaines to deliver them accordingly. I perceiue y^r Lo^{pp} hath some expectation y^t there is money come, but there is not any more than what is spent upon y^e fleete, and necessary to secure mee, wherein I shall need y^r Lo^{pps} favor. I thinke in one of my letters I shewed y^e state of the portion. It is very breife to repeate. 211,000^l in specie I have received, and is also spent upon Tanger, y^e fleete, S^r Hen. Wood¹, and y^e Embassy.² The other 800,000^l is before y^e 2 moneths after y^e Q^s landinge, to be p^d in London to whom y^e Kinge appoints.

I shall be very impatient untill I have y^e honor to meete y^r Lo^{pp} at Hampton Court, personally to give a fuller account of all things then I can by this way, and every way manifest y^e truth of my beinge,

My Höble L^d,

Y^r Lo^{pps}

Most faithfull & most obedient servant,

SANDWICH.

Portsmouth, May 20. 1662.

¹ Sir Henry Wood had been Clerk of the Spicery to Charles I.; and after the Restoration was Clerk to the Board of Green Cloth. He seems to have been eccentric. Pepys hears "many stories" of him (vol. iii. 46.); and Evelyn mentions the marriage of one of the maids of honour "to that odd person, Sir Henry Wood." ii. 43.

² In Letter XCIV. p. 192. Lord Sandwich says, "Some 200,000^l wee have spent wth y^e fleete at Lisbone."

XCVII.¹

CHARLES II. to THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the British Museum, Lansdowne MSS. 1236. *Orig.*]

Portsmouth, 25 May.

My brother will tell you of all that passes heere, which I hope will be to your satisfaction. I am sure 't is so much to mine, that I cannot easily tell you how happy I think myselfe; and I must be the worst man living (which I hope I am not) if I be not a good husband. I am confident never two humors were better fitted together than ours are. We cannot stirr from hence till Teusday, by reason that there is not cartes to be had to-morrow, to transporte all our garde infantas, without which there is no stirring; so as you are not to expect me till Thursday night at Hamton Courte.

Superscribed — "For the Chancellor."

¹ This letter was written on the fifth day from that on which Charles first met his queen at Portsmouth. A previous letter of May 21., also addressed to the Lord Chancellor, describes in no very modest terms the particulars of this first meeting. It then proceeds to give the following favourable account of the first impression made by Catherine. "I can now only give you an account of what I have seene abed, which in shorte is, her face is not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes are excelent good, and not anything in her face that in the least degree can shoque one; on the contrary, she hath as much agreeablenesse in her looks altogether as ever I saw, and if I have any skill in visiognimy, which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was borne. Her conversation, as much as I can perceive, is very good, for she has witt enough, and a most agreeable voyse. You would wonder to see how well we are acquainted already. In a worde, I thinke myselfe very happy; for I am confident our two humors will agree very well together." The letter of May 21. is also among the Lansdowne MSS. 1236, in the British Museum. It was published by Macpherson in his collection of "Original Papers," vol i. p. 22.

XCVIII.¹

SIR HENRY BENNET TO CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library.]

IN obedience to your Ma^{ty} commands, I have here sett downe in writinge what you allowed me to discourse to you yesterday, that the sufficiency of it may be better considered. The conclusion of all which are, that it imports your Ma^{ty}, in this conjuncture, to strengthen your authority by all the meanes and wayes y^e Lawe allows you, since the dissatisfaction towards y^e present Government (though, God knows, very undeservedly) is become soe universal that any small accident may put us into new troubles, though they should not as yet bee thoroughly designed by those that wish for them. The city of London being immediately under y^r Ma^{ty} eye, will, I make noe doubt, bee easily kept quiet by those troupes you have in and about it, w^{ch}, if occasion bee, will very easily and quickly double their numbers, soe there bee money founde to pay them part of there arrears; and, if neede bee, a regim^t or two may be added to them from Dunkirke, with which not only the city, but the country too that is in any reasonable distance, may be secured. That which therefore wants a visible helpe is y^e rem^{der} part of the Kingdome, where, in this interval betwixt y^e ceasing of y^e old and y^e establishing of y^e new militia², there will want a present force to quiett any dis-

¹ This remarkable letter, which is without date, appears by the context to have been written between the close of the session of parliament May 19. 1662, and the 24th of August, when the Act of Uniformity came into operation. It was probably written soon after the former of these periods.

² "We have already, according to our duties and the laws, declared the sole right of the militia to be in your Majesty; and now, with your permission, we humbly tender your Majesty a bill for the better regulation and ordering these standing forces of this kingdom, whence we have taken care to make all things so certain, that your Majesty's Lieutenants and

order that may happen, and whither it will not be easy to make any part of y^e troupes y^r Ma^y hath here march, for want of money, if it could be thought fit to spare them from home, which I think would not be counsellable in this conjuncture, when we remember what it cost us in the last rebellion, the having the city of London against us. To secure, therefore, this point, I will not only presume to sett downe what in my judgment must be done, but also what must be avoided, that, by balancing them both (for there appeare to me to be but two remedies neare at hande), it may bee better judged which is the more sufficient one, and appearing to be soe, it may presently bee putt in execution, the occasion requiring it now. And above all things, there must be avoided, by any compliance or easinesse, upon what specious grounds soever, the giving the discontented parties a beliefe that they have created in your Ma^y any feare of them; for they will effectively gaine courage by it, and those that are most faithfull to you will loose it, and with whom the present Parliament (which may truly be saide to bee y^e onely bulwarque now betwixt the disaffected people and the government), where, finding what they have done either undervalued or disowned by y^r Ma^y, will, at the last, become soe uneasy as to oblige y^r Ma^y to dissolve them, w^{ch} I will presume to say were one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall you, to loose them, or to neede a new Parliament house before the kingdome bee better settled; and this is what I say must be avoided.

That which is to be done is wth all convenient speede to settle y^e new militia in such handes as your Ma^y can best confide in through the whole kingdome, excluding all partiality or connivance to any other whatsoever. But because

"their deputies may know what to command, and all the people learn how
"to obey." Address of the Speaker of the House of Commons, May 19.
1662. — See Lords' Journals.

this is worke of some time, and that the old one hath not vigour enough left in it to meete the present dangers that threaten us, and that will growe more terrible every day as y^e Acts of Uniformity and Chimney Money¹ come to be putt in execution; and that, though there were time for it, y^e body of y^e militia is (to say noe worse) too bigg and unweildy at the best for such an undertaking; — it is humbly proposed, that y^r Ma^{ty} bee pleased to serve yourself of the benefit of y^e proviso², and y^e act of the militia; whereby, in case of apparent danger (which is now too visible, God knows), your Ma^{ty} is inabled to raise 70m. p^{ds} p^r ann. for y^e employing the while of a part of y^e militia, &c., and that this bee presently employed to y^e raising companies of horse and some of foote, to bee kept up, some in the North, and others in the West, by w^{ch} those remoter parts of the kingdome, as I saide, will be kept in their obedience.

But because it may bee very naturally objected to this, that y^e raising this money will but serve to adde more fewell to the fire that now threatens, as I explaine myselfe further, that I doe not understande the said money shall be presently raised, or that indeede it can be soe, time enough for y^e present occasion; but that the L^{ds} Lieut^{ts} of both those posts bee speedily sent thither, and that at the same time they shew these new commissions, they also produce others for certaine companyes of horse and foote (the in-

¹ "We have prepared a bill by which we desire it may be enacted, that "all houses in this kingdom which are worth in yearly value above 20s., and "not inhabited by almsmen, may pay unto your Majesty, your heirs and successors, 2s. yearly for every chimney hearth in each house for ever." — Address of the Speaker of the House of Commons, May 19. 1662. Lords' Journals.

² "And because our late wounds are yet but green, and possibly before "the body politic be well purged, may incline to break out again, whereby "your Majesty may be found to draw your sword before your treasury be "supplied with money; we have consented that your Majesty may raise for "the three next ensuing years one month's tax in each year after the rate of "70,000*l.* per annum, if necessity shall so require." — Address of the Speaker of the House of Commons, May 19. 1662. Lords' Journals.

tertainment of which not to exceede the 70m. p^{ds}), but especially of horse, that shall bee effectively a part of the militia to bee made, and that they bee distributed to such persons of quallity and estate in the respective counties, as may be found to have credit enough to assemble men together, upon account of their fortunes and loyalty to his Ma^{ty}, and by the same credit to maintaine them soe for 3 months: all w^{ch} upon deliberation will bee founde practical enough, the trust shown being sufficient to animate them thereunto.

Before the s^d 3 months be expired, y^e afores^d Acts of Uniformity and Chimney Money will have been put in execution, the affront towards which is threatened and may be reasonably expected in y^e beginning, in w^{ch} the seditious party's being frustrated, they will in all probability sitt downe quietly with a finall despaire of succeeding in their attempts, if at the same time, that is to say, after the authority bee thus strengthened, should your Ma^{ty} bee pleased to declare, you will effectively employ y^r selfe, at y^e next meeting of the Parliament, to obtaine a mitigation of those things that are now complained off as grievous; and then, I say, it will bee reasonable (and not a moment sooner) to use that easinesse and compliyanse w^{ch}, in the beginning, will bee looked upon only as a marque of extraordinary feare, and hasten the discontented party's to attempt something upon y^r Ma^{ty} and y^r government.

As things stand, I humbly conceive this to bee the only sufficient remedy; and soe far from an exorbitant one, or in danger of being censured for arbitrary or tyrannical, that it is warranted by the letter of y^e lawe, and by the present existence of that parliament w^{ch} made it soe, and is still in being to stand by y^r Ma^{ty} in asserting it: all w^{ch} I humbly submit to better judgments.

XCIX.¹

CHARLES II. to THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the British Museum. Lansdowne MSS. 1236. Orig.]

I FORGOTT, when you weare heere last, to desire you to give Brodericke good counsell, not to meddle any more with what concerns my Lady Castlemaine, and to lett him have a care how he is the authorre of any scandalous reports; for if I find him guilty of any such thing, I will make him repent it to the last moment of his life. And now I am entered on this matter, I think it very necessary to give you a little good counsell in it, least you may think that, by making a further stirr in the businesse, you may deverte me from my resolution, which all the world shall never do; and I wish I may be unhappy in this world and the world to come, if I faile in the least degree what I have resolved; which is, of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wives bedchamber: and whosoever I find use any endeavour to hinder this resolution of myne (excepte it be only to myselfe), I will be his enemy to the last moment of my life. You know how true a friende I have been to you. If you will oblige me eternally, make this businesse as easy

¹ In publishing this letter, I deviate from my rule of giving a place to such letters and papers alone, as have not previously appeared in print. It has been already printed entire in Harris's Lives, vol. v. pp. 39, 40.; and the greater part of it in Lingard's History of England, xii. 353. I have not met with it anywhere else. This letter is without date; but the permission to "*show*" it to the Duke of Ormond, raises a strong presumption that it was written before the departure of Ormond from London to Ireland (where he long remained), at the beginning of July. I have, therefore, in the chronological arrangement of the letters in this volume, placed this letter before one of the 27th of June. It would have been more agreeable to those who are laudably disposed to take a favourable view of human character, if a *later* date could be assigned;—if it could be shown that Charles had not so soon forgotten his emphatic assurance to the *same* correspondent—"I must be the worst man living, (which I hope I am not) if I be not a good husband." See the King's letter to Lord Clarendon, of May 25. page 196.

as you can, of what opinion soever you are of; for I am resolved to go through with this matter, lett what will come on it; which againe I solemnly sweare before Almighty God. Therefore, if you desire to have the continuance of my friendship, meddle no more with this businesse, except it be to beare down all false and scandalous reports, and to facilitate what I am sure my honour is so much concerned in: and whosoever I finde to be my Lady Castlemaines enemy in this matter, I do promise, upon my word, to be his enemy as long as I live. You may show this letter to my L^d L^{nt}; and if you have both a minde to oblige me, carry your selves like frinds to me in this matter.

CHARLES R.

Directed, "For the Chancellor."

Endorsed by Lord Clarendon — "The Kinge."



C.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 27th June, 1662, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LORD^{sh},

I RECEAVED yo^r by the last post; and for what yo^r Lord^{sh} is pleased *therein to command mee*, in relation to y^e *endeavouring to obtayne the terme of fifty foure accorded, and the Ambassadors not recalled till the Treaty were ended, I had very well prepared the way thereunto by my memorial I sent you by y^e last, y^e which also I printed and scattered into all parts*; at which *De Witt* was very *angery*, in so much y^t *hee could not forbear to speake to mee of it*; but I tould him I thought *hee* had very much reason to be very well satisfied therewth, seeing it tended onely to the *disabusing the people*, and in a matter of so great moment; and upon receipt of

yo^r Lord^{sh}, and States of Holland being here, forthwith sett all my friends and instruments to worke ; and so as y^t De Witt saw all his tricks discovered, and him selfe not knowing which way to turne him selfe, no not in States of Holland it selfe. And then, at last, yesterday I went to see him, where we reasoned matters very largely,— hee pressing mee very much, that I would imploy my indeavour, that the King of England his comissioners would declare themselves in those points in whiche, by the Dutch Ambassadors this weekes letter, they yet made difficulty. I replied absolutely, that I would not doe it, unlesse I might also have an absolute engagement from him that the States of Holland would accord the terme of fifty foure ; at which hee made great difficulty, but in fine, when he saw I was not to be stirred from it, hee sayed hee would speake with some of his friends, particularly with De Graffe, who is now here, and that this day I should heare from him ; and I do not doubt but, to master him herein, will hee, nill hee, and to doe this piece of service for my Master.

I am sure I never had any task any thing like what since my comeing hither, having had continually in all things the fierceness of wind and tide, I meane De Witt and his most powerfull and active caball, against mee. And, thinke what you will, I am confident ; yea, give me leave to say, I do see it, that De Witt is vnder hand backed and put on by France.

But now, my Lord, when this is accorded, if other differences be not laid aside, all is in vaine ; and all the Provinces will ioyne vnanimously to recall their ^{ce} 271. ^{r¹} 128. ; y^e consequence whereof, when done in y^t manner, can be no other ^{ra^s} then a warr, to the gratefying France, and 549 the ruin of Portugall ; perchance also, and y^t not unprobably, the losse of Dunkirke, and greate encouraging of all unsettled and discon-

¹ In this and other instances in this letter, when the interpretation of the cipher appears unintelligible, I have inserted both interpretation and cipher.

² Sic. Probably "rather."

tented humours at home, and putting the King upon an immediate infinite expence, for which I am sure his exchequer is not ready. Now, as to the making a perfect and cleare judgement in relation to all particulars betweene you, it is impossible for mee to do it, not having before mee either a draught of the Treaty you goe upon, nor yet of y^e severall alterations ; but, in so farr as I know, there is nothing material to the King of England in difference. As to y^t of being oblinded not to assist the enemies of each other, it was in Cromwell's Treaty, and in the projecte offered you ; and if now any difficulty should be made therein, it would cause strange thoughts here. And give me leave to add, I see nothing in any Treaty the King hath with any other to keepe him from it. Portugall may have peace with them, if it will ; and for any other, if they attaque this countrey (as they are not like to do), then the King is not obliged to assist them. On the other hand, if the States Generall should attaque them, the King of England would still bee at liberty to aid them, notwithstanding thereof. I very well remember this case in y^e late Danish warr, when notwithstanding Cromwell was ingaged to them in the same manner and words, yet espoused immediately the King of Swedens quarrell ; and as to yo^r satisfaction in this particular, I could fill a volume, if necessary ; and I am sure, as the Kings affaires are at this time, if they did not, it were most fitting and necessary that the King did demand and insist upon it, that it be most clearely and expresly set downe, that neither do assist the enemies of the other, by sea or land : for this State is, and is like to be in peace with France and Spaine ; and I am confident you are no more sure of the King of France, then you were in the 100^l. 128^l. 38^l. 530^l. 19^l. 29^l. 395^l. ; and for Spaine, you are justly (I meane upon probable and rationall grounds) to expect trouble ; and then it is certaine if ye have not this state, 582^l. 47^l. 98^l. 366^l. 41^l., and that in very cleare terms, they will assist against the King of England as to Dunkirke : and

this one thing is indeed y^e onely important thing that *the King* hath to looke after and provide against; and indeed to me this seemes to be millions of time of more import to *him* than that about which there is so much adoe.

I am, &c., &c., &c.,

G. DOWNING.

CI.

LOUIS XIV. to THE COMTE D'ESTRADES.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

De S^t Germain, ce 18 Juillet.¹

Je souhaitterois bien que vostre mal vous peut permettre de me venir trouver, pour vous dire mes intentions sur l'affaire que vous sçavez. La maniere dont Monsieur le Chancellier D'Angleterre en vse m'oblige fort, et il luy sera bien aisé de lier une amitie estroite entre le Roy mon Frere et moy. Personne ne scait ce que ce gentilhomme² vous a dit que Lionne, et je trouve l'affaire de si grande consequence, pour plusieurs raisons, que je desire vous envoyer trouver M^r le Chancellier sous quelque pretexte que je resonndray avec vous, par ce que si l'on veut agir sincerement, et y mettre un prie raisonnable, l'affaire sera bien tost conclue. Quant aux 200,000 escus, je feray tout mon possible pour contenter le Roy mon Frere. Cependant il est bon que vous avertissiez ce gentilhomme de tenir toujours cette proposition secrette, et que vous luy disiez que je l'ay bien receue.

LOUIS.

¹ July 8. Old Style.

² Richard Bellings, who was sent on a secret mission to Paris, as appears from Lord Clarendon's letter to D'Estrades, of June 29. See *Mémoires de D'Estrades*, i. 279. See also letter ciii. from Clarendon to Ormond, dated July 17. "Dicke Belins is returned," &c. p. 208.

CII.

LOUIS XIV. to THE COMTE D'ESTRADES.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]De St Germain, ce 19 Juillet. ¹

Je me remets a ce que Lionne vous dira de ma part: faites vous porter dimanche au Palais Royal ou je doit aller, et j'auray loisir de vous entretenir. Vous chargerez le gentilhomme de dire a Monsieur le Chancelier d'Angleterre que l'ouverture qui m'a esté faite m'esté tres agreable, et que j'ai tres grande disposition d'estreindre une estroite amitie et liaison avec le Roy mon Frere, et que cela soit par son entremise. J'approuve tout ce que vous m'aues ^{m'aues} proposé sur ce sujet. J'ay fait escrire M^r le Teillier a l'abbé Montaigne, pour donner la response a la Reyne d'Angleterre, sur lemprunte des 200,000 escus. J'estime que le gentilhomme doit prendre pretexte sur ce la de partir, et de dire a la Reyne d'Angleterre que, n'ayant plus rien a esperer, il estoit necessaire que le Roy d'Angleterre en fust informé au plus tost, et comme cela M^r le Chancelier d'Angleterre aura le temps de vous faire scavoir de ces nouvelles, sur les quelles ou vous l'ires trouver en Angleterre, ou vous continuerez vostre chemien en Hollande. Ne manques pas d'estre dimanche a quarte heures au Palais Royal.

LOUIS.

¹ July 9. Old Style.

Ormond

CIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

I DID this day at Hampton Courte receave yours of the 2 from Coventry¹, and wonder to find you so much in love with those and all other walles, which most people thinke most necessary to be slighted. I have not hearde one worde of such an offer as you mencon concerninge Gloster, which I thinke I should have done if ther had beene grounde for it, since my L^d Harberte² appeared to me willinge enough to have the walles stande; but gave no such argument. I hope you have taken good order with your Deputy L^{ts} in Somersetshyre, that they be not without authority. I am now at this instant sealinge your commission; and a letter from Taunton talke of as high conspiracyes in that county, as others do with reference to Cheshyre and Lancashire. The truth of the latter, you can better judge of than I. I will endeavour to discover any of George Hambleton's secrets which may enable me to do

¹ The Duke of Ormond was at this time on his way to Ireland, of which he was Lord Lieutenant. "He set out from London," says Carte, "in the beginning of July: there had been in that place a great concourse of the first nobility and gentry, to take care of their concerns, whilst the Bill of settlement was under consideration of the Council. These being now on their return with the commissioners appointed to execute the act, made up his graces train in the road toward Dublin, and contributed to make it more splendid than ever had been known on such an occasion. In every county, as he passed through the country to Chester, the Lord Lieutenant met him, and the militia were drawn out to do him honour. The weather was very stormy, and the wind contrary; so that he continued his journey by land to Holyhead, where he embarked, and after a bad passage (which gave occasion to reports of his being cast away), arrived at Dublin in July 27, being the day of the same month in which, fifteen years before, he had been compelled to deliver up the Government to the Commissioners of the Parliament." Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 257.

² Lord Herbert, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire.

him service, if I can see him ; but really, I thinke, I have not seene him 3 tymes this twelvemonth.

The Kinge is perfectly recovered of the indisposiçõs in which you left him. I wish he were as free from all other. I have had, since I saw you, 3 or 4 full long conferences, with much better temper than before. I have likewise twice spoken at large with the Queene. The Lady¹ hath beene at courte, and kissed her hande, and returned that night. I cannot tell you, ther was no discomposure. I am not out of hope, and that is all I can yett say. I shall send this by S^r All. Brodericke², and so shall not neede to use cypher ; but hereafter I shall alwayes use cypher upon this argument, and I believe rarely upon any other ; and therefore you must take the paynes still to discypher yourselfe.

All the service I can do you in your proposiçõ of the assignment, is to endeavour that it be not assigned to any other use ; for it would be to no purpose at present in these insuparable necessities, under which we groane, to propose the diverting it to Irelande. For God's sake, defend your selfe from importunityes, and learne to deny. You have sent 2 or 3 promises unreasonable enough to M^r Solicitor³, quite contrary to all rules. Be not too confident of our wisdomes, that wee will always stopp what you let passe.

Dicke Belins⁴ is returned with as good an account as you can wish ; and if I would speake well of myself, I could tell you I am very welle spoken off ther. In a

¹ Lady Castlemaine.

² Sir Alan Broderick was born 1623, at Garret, near Wandsworth, in Surrey. Died, 1680. After the Restoration, he successively filled the offices of Provost-Marshal of Munster ; Surveyor General of Ireland ; and one of the commissioners for the settlement of the affairs of that kingdom. He was M. P. for Dungarvon in the Irish Parliament.

³ Sir Heneage Finch, Solicitor General, afterwards Attorney General ; in 1675 made Lord High Chancellor, and created Earl of Nottingham.

⁴ Sir Richard Bellings had been secretary to the Roman Catholic confederacy in Ireland ; was employed as a confidential agent in the negotiations respecting the sale of Dunkirk ; and in 1669 accompanied Lord Arundel to France on a secret mission from Charles to Louis, and was instructed to draw the article of the Treaty, and act as secretary in that negotiation. See Life of James II., vol. i. p. 442.

worde, Mons^r de Strade, in his way to Hollande, will, the next weeke, make me a visitt for 3 or 4 dayes, and then I shall tell you more. I thinke we shall speedily conclude our Treaty with the Dutch¹, which will likewise have a good effect.

God of Heaven keep you and all yours.

Worcester House, this 17 of July.²

CIV.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO SIR GEORGE
DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

31 July, 1662.

S^r,

I HAVE yours of the 25th of the last moneth, and am as sensible of the inconvenjence and mischief we sustayned by this lycencious transportation of woole, as you can wish mee to be: but how to remedy it? I wish y^a could prescribe any to it. The bill y^t was brought into y^e house was well drawne, but it was spoiled there; for you see they will not suffer any woole to be ceased and forfeited till it be put a shipboard; whereas it was desired y^t it might be forfeited if it were found within three miles of the sea, except there were such notice given of it, as might make it evident y^t there was no purpose of transporting it: but this would not be suffered, and wee were glad to take the bill as they would give it, (though it helped us but little,) for there be some good clauses in case of discovery, though it be after it is carried out of the kingdome. There shall be letters sent both into Ireland, and into Scotland; but a little vigilence of yours, and keeping some

¹ This Treaty was concluded on the 4th of September, 1662.

² 1662.

spies in pay at Rotterdam and Amsterdam, to discover both y^e shippes and y^e masters, would doe more good than anything wee can doe here; and yet y^e farmers of the customes doe promise to use all y^e diligence they can; and y^t is all I can say of that matter.

I doe not conceive y^t y^u can be reasonably moved to sign the Portugall Treaty, since you were so farr frō having a hand in the making it, y^t it was done without your consent, and with some circumstances vnkind enough: but if they shall press you earnestly to it, doe not positively deny it, but say it is so new and unexpected, y^t you must send over for orders. I thanke you for the advertisement you give mee concerning Denmarke, of w^{ch} I was never informed before, w^{ch} is very strange, considering that when y^t Treaty was making, we advised y^e merchants to thinke of any beneficiall articles for their trade, having good assurance y^t nothing would have been denyed us that we could reasonably have proposed; and I beleeve we shall finde y^e same temper still in y^t kingdome. I will not faile to speake of it to Hannibale¹, who communicates wth all imaginable freedome with mee.

I doe confesse I doe not understand y^e last part of your letter, nor can I indeed read it, nor can I conceive to what purpose there is a mentioning a Terminus a quo, if there shall be an exception of all those thinges which are depending there in processe before y^t time. There were a multitude of injuries done by y^e Dutch between the peace 40 and 50; in all w^{ch} cases, suits were co^menced in y^e severall Admiralties, and complaintes and demandes made by S^r W^m Boswell; and after y^t time, till y^e surrender of Jarsey, there was not a moneth past without our sustayning great damage by the Dutch. Now, if all these demands shall be renewed and pursued, to what end doe we mention a Terminus a quo? And nothing is plainer to mee than y^t,

¹ Hannibal Zested, Ambassador from Denmark to the English Court.

if wee presse this, the Amb^r haue not only no power to concurr, but have orders for their present returne; and I am sure your former letters gave us advertisment of as much, and advised us to conclude. The King has thoroughly weighed it in full councell, and has returned such an answer to the Ambassadors as I conceive they cannot but consent to; and hath only excepted those two shippes from being comprehended, w^{ch} he is obliged in honour to insist upon in the way it is now depending, but exempting them from y^e Co^mmissioners. Since y^e returne of y^e Kings answer, the Amb^r sent this morning for a meeting wth the Co^mmissioners, and they were together when I came out of the towne; and what y^e resulte was, I suppose y^u will heare frō the Secretary; but I cannot conceive how any difference can remaine, and I confesse I wish wth all my heart that worke done.

CV.

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

I HAVE heere sent you a note of the ordinance that is in Dunkirke. But what the six thousand soldiers cost Cromwell, I can not give you a just accompt of it. But (as I guess) I have sent it you heere. The neerest estimate I can make of it at present, is eighteene thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, at two pence a day a peece to six thousand soldiers; w^{ch} Cromwell paide them for two yeares over and above the Frenche paye; twenty foure thousand pounds for raising six thousand men, and for the armeing, recruiting, and transporting of them. For clotheing of them for two

yeares, twelve thousand pounds; for the workes, thirty thousand pounds. The ordinance and carriages are worth twenty thousand pounds; the charge of the shipping for two yeares, one hundred and fourscore thousand pounds: soe the whole comes to two hundred eighty four thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; besides the charge of keeping the guarrison, ever since it has been in the English hands. I am,

Yo^r L^{ps} most affectionat and
humble servant,

ALBEMARLE.

Cockpitt, 8 August, 1662.

PAPERS ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

1. *An Accompt of all the Ordnance in and about Dunkirke.*

Brass guns,	{	Mounted,	69	
		Unmounted,	2	
		Unserviceable,	1	
			<hr/>	
		In all,	72	
			<hr/>	
Iron guns,	{	Mounted,	50	
		Unmounted,	21	
		Unserviceable,	20	
			<hr/>	
		In all,	91	
			<hr/>	
In Fort Logger Head, In Fort Royall, In y ^e Block House at Mardyke,	{	Iron guns,	{	4
				12
				<hr/>
				4
				<hr/>
			In all,	20
			<hr/>	
		Brasse cannon,	72	
		Iron cannon,	111	
			<hr/>	
		In all,	183	

2. *An Estimate (perchance not exact, because some what may be omitted) of the Charge of Mardike and Dunkirk.*

These places were put into the hands of the English about the latter end of the yeare 1657.

I have not leasure to examine what the fortifications cost Cromwell.

Establishment of the garrisons 60 m. ll. y^e ann. — 150000l. from November, 1657, to May, 1660.

These sumes following I find upon my books yssued since the Kings returne.

	5000	
	7200	
	8400	
	8400	
S ^r Maurice Berkley	4800	
	1500	051382
	4805	
	1928	
	2349	
	7000	
	<hr/>	
	51382	
	<hr/>	
	3756	
	3830	
	2888	
S ^r John Shaw	3500	021342
	3500	
	2888	
	980	
	<hr/>	
	21342	
	<hr/>	

19700	
00650	
17437	
26156	
17437	
08718	
26156	
17437	156453
8718	
8718	
5326	
<hr/>	
156453	
<hr/>	

Totall¹ 379177

This besides the charge of the navy, and the first charge of the English regim^u.

CVI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, y^e 14 of Aug. 1662.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LORD^{sh},

I RECEIVED y^r by y^e last. It was allwayes and is *my opinion* that the King should conclude this Treaty, and y^t there should be on his part no delay therein; and this all my letters to Lord Chancellour will witnesse; but yet not so as that the King, for obteyning thereof, should condescend to things that would make him lowe here, and at home, and in all other countries. But for the well promotting hereof, I have done these two things — First, though, by my instructions, I am

¹ This total comprises the £150000 from November, 1657, to May, 1660.

ordered to appeare on y^e behalf of all his Ma^{ty}'s subjects, and though I have beene ordred severall times by the Secretary of State to appeare in severall matters ; yet for feare of clogging the Treaty, I never did presse any thing that was before y^e time for the Commissioners, but only y^e businesse of the Bonadventure and Bonaesperanza, which I was ordered to doe by a letter from the King to mee. And moreover, I knew withal that the persons concerned in them were such as had suffered very much for the King and his father. In y^e next place, what differences have arisen betweene you and y^e Dutch Ambassadors, I have from time to time done my utmost to remove them, and particularly, as Lord Chancellour well knows, in y^e businesse of y^e granting of Commissioners.

Now as to y^e businesse of the *preamble*, and as I understand, there is something of y^e like nature before the *Article for Poloroone*.¹ Now, as to this, you will find all my letters of one straine, viz., that if it were admitted, yet that, matters actually depending, though they should not have y^e benefitt of Commissioners, yet that they should not be cutt off from remedy in the way in which they were depending : and that this is no distinction of my making, as I have severall times hinted to yo^r Lord^{sh}, you will find it set downe in y^e resolution of the States Generall of the 10th of May last, wherein they would persuade the King to be content with Commissioners from 59 ; with this argument, that though Commissioners should onely be for matters from anno 1659, yet all other remedies would be open to things of antienter date, if the King would yeald further. Yet in honour he could not but accept of the businesse of those two shipps to be proceeded in the way in which they now are ; for as to y^e leaving them to any Court of Justice, it were much better quite to mortify them then to leave them to such remedy. And this hath beene the strein of my letters to Lord Chancellour ; and that it is a thousand times better tamely to suffer injuries from them,

¹ The island of Pulo. Ron, in the East Indies.

than having demanded it, to desist, for that it lays the Kings reputation low, both here and elsewhere; and encourages them to new and greater insolencies, and discourages his owne subjects.

And moreover *I have* sometimes hinted, and did in my last but one to *M^r Secretary Nicholas* (y^e which I finde by yo^r Lord^{ps} was shewen to the King), *that their losse this yeare in India was greate and considerable, and moreover that the Province of Holland onely is at this time indebted about one hundred and twenty millions of guilders, for which they pay about five hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, interest at foure ⅞ cent.* Moreover, that they are at this time in very high disputes with all their ^{li}448. ¹136. ^{by}262. ¹86.¹ and who all would be most glad of an opportunity to recover what this country holds of theirs by force; and moreover it is most certaine that their divisions and animosities within are infinite; and however *De Witt hath a stronge party*, yet he hath as strong enemies, and much more numerous. Yet *I hint not these things*, that, upon this account, the King should not agree with them, but that he hath not such reason to apprehend them, as to buy their freindship upon dishonourable termes, as would be y^e businesse of quitting those two shipps. And let me tell yo^r Lord^p, that *De Witts tenaciousnes* in this matter is not so much for the value of the thing, as to heighten the reputation of the States Generall, and lay lowe that of the King of England, that they can make him eat upp his words and letters. But yet, let me tell you, I know I am sure of it, and from his most intimates, he dreads a warr. Hee remembers the last, but hopes to carry it by braving; and there is a terrour upon the people, and particularly upon y^e sea-men, as to any thing of that nature, and they can presse no man in this country. And, for the other Provinces, *De Witt can get some of them to vote with him, so long as it costs thcm nothing; but they will have no*

¹ Sic.

warr with the King of England, nor give one farthing to it, but especially upon such a point as that now remaining in difference. They have very little, and some of them no concerne, in the East India Company; but De Witt confidently beleeves the King of England will yeald to them. Hee said as much, and this makes him so huff.

Now, as to such as come daily from England hither, they are handycraft and tradesmen, who also bring with them their families, and who pretend the reason thereof to be for the liberty of their consciences: and as to this, whether you conclude the Treaty or not, it will be all a case, and make no difference.

Give me leave only to add, in relation to y^e businesse of the two shippes, that yo^r Lord^p may see by y^e copie of De Witts letter to the Dutch Ambassadour, which I sent yo^r Lord^p this day fortnight, that *his designe is to keepe the States Generall unto as it were a peremptorinesse in y^t businesse; because that he thinkes that whatever should be said or voted, as to any thing tending towards yealdinge, I should presently gett notice of it; and upon this account he keepe the yealding party wholly to himself; and the States Generall can say nothing against, seeing it is singly the concerne of the East India Company, and, as he still tells them, they ought to give him leave to use the best meanes to make the best bargaine hee can, seeing that it costs them nothing; and he allwayes tould them, that if long since they would have beene advised by him, and have resolved to recall their Ambassad^{rs}, and left him to manage it, hee would have brought the King of England to have agreed this without ever granting any thing of Commissioners. And if now, by that trick, hee should prevaile in this businesse of these two shippes, all that would bee beleaved, and hee would be magnus Apollo. But I must tell yo^r Lord^p, I see no inclination here to a warr with 668¹, and they would rather pull De Witt in*

¹ This number was probably written by mistake instead of 688, which, in the cypher here used, stood for "England."

peices : but if by braving hee can get this busines mortified, that they like well ; and upon this the King may build.

CVII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

Sep. 5. 1662.

S^r,

I HAVE receed yours of the 29th of the last moneth, as I did your former by the Expresse, which when I had perused, I thought your intelligencer had abused you, as without doubt hee did, or was deceived himselfe: and upon perusale of your last, I know not whether De Witt have cousined you, or whether hee be cousined himselfe. The next day after y^e Expresse arrived, the Ambassadors were with mee, with another countenance than they use to weare, and declared to mee, that, upon y^e representation they had made by their last letters, and the confidence they had given the States, that there would be no new matter demanded on our part, they had now received letters by which they were authorized, or would understand themselves to be authorized, to finish y^e Treaty, and consent to y^e exception of the two shippes; and therefore they desired that y^e Treaty might be forthwith concluded and subscribed, y^t no new obstructions might be interposed. I told them the Commissioners would not faile to meete them y^e next day; and accordingly they did meete, and rectified all for y^e ingrossement, which being examined at y^e councill board and past, yesterday was appointed for the mutuall subscribing. It is very true that, after y^e arrival of the post, they seemed somewhat

perplexed, as the Secretary tells mee, for I have not seene them myselfe since, and proposed that y^e subscription might be deferred for a fortnight, and y^t y^e matter concerning the two shippes might be reserved to a secret article. They were answered, that any new delay would not be consented to, and might possibly indanger the whole Treaty; and thereupon all was concluded, and the Treaty signed accordingly, yesterday, in y^e afternoone; and so I thinke that affaire is ended without the King his making any Legges; and truly I cannot deny that I am heartily glad that it is concluded.

They are not like yet to be freed from the perplexitie Mon^r L'Estrades being here putt them into, for I suppose hee will not yet depart till one weeke more passes. I beleieve y^e ratification of the Treaty is deferred for some more important matter than y^e ingrossement, except by the ingrossement they meane, that all y^e Treaties are not agreed upon, which are to be included, and are to be guaranted; and that is true; for y^e Dutch have no minde to guarant the Treaty with y^e Duke of Lorraine, which indeede is of moment, and if they shall be obstinate in y^t refusall, I doe not beleieve the King of France will ever ratifie y^e Treaty; besides the Dutch propose y^t y^e ratification may have the consent and approbation of Parliament, w^{ch} proposal is rece^d with indignation, and will never be consented too. I say this only to yourselfe, it being not an affaire to be discoursed of.

Indeed the difference at Roome¹ makes a great noyse, and if it bee not suddainly apeace, will make a greater; and apeace it cannot be without y^e most abject condiscension of y^e Pope. I have seene two letters from the King of France sent thither upon this occasion,—y^e one to

¹ The outrage committed by the Corsican militia in the pay of the Pope upon the French Ambassador (Duc de Crequi) and his attendants, in August, 1662; on which occasion Louis XIV. recalled his Ambassador, and demanded immediate reparation.

y^e Pope¹, the other to y^e Cardinalls,—both in a stile worthy so great a King, and equall to what Louis 12th writt when y^e difference was at highest. The Ambassadors having done their business, they intend now speedily to returne, and to that purpose have demanded an audience to take their leave; so y^t I beleeve they will not stay now many dayes.

Worcester House.

CVIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

I HAVE yours of the 3; but the other you mençond to have sent by Col Gorge's is not yett come, nor do I heare that he is in Englande. I cannot deny but that I have the ambiçõn that my neere kinred, who lyve under your protection and government, should finde themselves the better for ther relaçõn to me; but it is upon the assurance that they are honest, and at least as capable of your favour as other men. If they proove otherwise, I shall be more ashamed that they should receive favours from you, then that they be rejected by you.

¹ This letter is published in the *Œuvres de Louis XIV.* tome v. p. 91. It concludes as follows: "Nous ne demandons rien à V. S. en cette rencontre: elle a fait une si longue habitude de nous *réfuser* toutes choses, et a témoigné jusqu'ici tant d'aversión pour ce que regarde notre personne et notre couronne, que nous croyon squ'il vaut mieux remettre à sa prudence propre ses résolutions, sur lesquelles les nôtres se régleront; souhaitant seulement que celles de V. S. soient telles qu'elles nous obligent à continuer de prier Dieu qu'il conserve, très Saint-Père V. S. au régime de nôtre mère Sainte-Eglise." The Editor adds in a note, — "It suffit de rappeler que le Pape, malgré son aversion pour la France, fut obligé de plier, et de finir par donner au roi une satisfaction aussi éclatante qu'humiliante pour la cour de Rome et la famille papale."

All things are bad with reference to the Lady¹; but I think not so bad as you heare. Every body takes her to be of the bed-chamber; for she is always there, and goes abroad in the coach. But the Queene tells me that the King promised her, on condition she would use her as she doth others, that she should never live in court: yet lodgings, I hear, she hath. I heare of no back staires. The worst is, the King is as discomposed as ever, and looks as little after his business; which breaks my heart, and makes me and other of y^r friends weary of our lives. He seeks for his satisfaction and delight in other company, which do not love him so well as you and I do. I hope it will not last always. The business of Dunkirk is like to come to nothing upon the point of payment only. We are offered 5,000,000 pistoles; wee accept it; but they would pay only two in hand—the rest in two years. This wee cannot yeeld.

Worcester House, 9 of Sept.²



CIX.

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

FOR what belongs to y^r L^{ps} owne businesse here, since you have been pleased to leave it to my L^d L^{ts} manadgm^t, I thought it my duty to your service not to loose one minute in it. And therefore, yesterday morning, my L^d L^t spent some time with me in it; and are resolved, out of the money payable to your L^{dp} (wh^h it shalbe my businesse to get in), only to purchas old Tithe lands with 10000[£]. of it, which

¹ Lady Castlemaine.

² 1662.

my L^d L^t says he wilbe a suter to you might be for his Godson¹; the rest of the money to be desposed of as your L^{dp} thinks fit, wh^h I hope will buy a good purchas for my L^d Cornbury.

Dublin, 17th of 7^{ber}, 62.

CX.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, 7 Oct. 1662.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r GRACE,

I SHOULD sooner have given yo^r Grace an account of a report, that hath bene some tyme whispered among those that are the great masters of all intrigues here in court, but that I gave noe creddit to it myself (whome it highly concernes), untill lately, M^r Io. Ashbournham tould me, that the King called him to him; and having used many gracious exp^ssions of his esteeme for me, and of my constant fidelity to himself and his father, said he was sorry, that the weight of busines lay soe heavy upon me, being old; and was therefore minded to ease me of my troublesome imployment, and to gratify me bountifully for it; and said wthall, that he would give me ten thousand pounds, and make me a Baron of Engl^d, and wished him to speake to me of it. I confesse I was at first much surprized at the motion, and desird respite for a day or two to returne my aunswere, w^{ch} I shortly deliv'd to M^r Ashbournham; — That I did lay myself and all I had att his Ma^{ties} feete, to be disposed of as he pleased; and if his Ma^{tie}, out of his

¹ Lawrence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester, Lord Clarendon's second son. See allusions to this subject in Letter cxii., from Lord Clarendon to the Duke of Ormond, dated Oct. 25. 1662.

bounty, intended me a recompence of ten thousand pounds towards payment of my debts, I desired I might have it before I quitted my place; but as for the honor, it was above my ambition and estate; and therefore I desired such other small compensacōn for it, as his Ma^{tie} should thinke good; and soe it rests. I am tould, and have some reason to believe, that this my remove was designed att Somerset House, and principally by my L^o of Bristoll, y^e L^d S^t Albans, and S^t Hen. Bennet; and its here thought by some, that the designe is not on me alone, but that it aymes higher. I confesse, if I may have such a recompence as is proposed, I shall for my owne particlar blesse God and the King for it, esteeming it to be a great happines for me to be soe well and happily eased of so sollicitous and laborious an employm^t; and will retire by degrees into the country to prepare myself for a better world, being now within a few monethes of full 70^y years olde. Though I have taken the boldnes to give yo^r Grace the trouble of this tedious relation, yet I pray be pleased not to take any notice of it from me; but I beseech yo^r Grace to p^rserve me in yo^r Lo^{pps} favor and esteeme; for I shall in all condicōns remayne constantly and unalterably,

May it please yo^r Grace, yo^r Graces

Most faithfull, most humble, and most obed^t serv^t,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CXI.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Oct. 11. 1662.

SINCE my last to yo^r Grace, the King hath been much prest by my back friends to cōmand me speedily to resigne

my place ; but in all that tyme his Ma^{ty} hath not spoken to me a word of it, though I haue been wth him alone sev^rall tymes in dispatch of many businesses. S^r Cha. Berkley (I heare), upon S^r Hen. Bennets coming into my place, is to have the privy purse ; and he is so eager to be possest of it as he pcures his great friend to presse the King to speed my displacing ; but I have by M^r Ashbournham, whom the King only imployes to mee about the busines, desired the King, that I may keepe my place, untill I have posc^{on}¹ of what his Ma^{ty}, of his bounty and goodness, intends mee in recompence for it : but I doubt my enemies are too potent for me, and will prevaile to get mee to be putt off wthout that satisfaction att present. My Lord, I have some reason to believe, that this thunder bolt now aymed at me, is an effect of that storm I long since felt at Beauvois in Fra. when my Hono^d Lady was there.

CXII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

25 Oct^r. Worcester House.

I HAD both yours of the 11th and the 15 together ; and I doubte some of myne to you miscarry, for I did not fayle to give you advertisement of the change that was like to be, and is since fallen out, as soone as I foresaw it. Others, who foresaw it sooner, and it may be contrived it, might well give an earlier informa^{on}. The post, it seemes, goes from heare twice a weeke ; but I charge myself onely with writinge on Saturday, when you know I intend to gett some few leasure houres, and I if I do not then refresh my

¹ possession.

selfe with sayinge somewhat to you, and thinkinge myselfe a little with you, I am punished beyond what you can wish me. On any other day I do not pretend to speake with you.

I will not dispute with you, who hath been most notorious, you or my L^d Orrery, in the invençõn to make me richer, then I am sure I would have contrived for my selfe; but as I would not have projected it, nor I thinke permitted it if I had beene privy to it (since in my conscience tenn thousande had beene fitter objects of that bounty), yet I do not hold myselfe bound in my conscience to throw it into the sea, but leave you the cõpounders to use me as you please. If such a purchase as you both prescribe and describe, be made for 10000[£], I wish it be to me and my heires, (though I intende well to your Godsonne) because accidents may fall out; and if there should be more money, which I think impossible, I desyre it be returned hither, that I may make some purchase heare, where I would fayne have some lande, as well as much tithe; and that is all I shall say; and lesse I cannot say of that affayre.

Amonge all my faultes, you know sullenness is none. I throw that however alwayes off, in an houres conflicte. The greate vacacõn you heare I have given myselfe at Twitnam, hath never beene 3 dayes together since I saw you; nor have I been above that tyme from Whitehall, and then upon businesse enough, that required that retyrement. But my friends and my enemyes deale alyke unreasonably with me. As the latter impute all the ill that is done to the Chancelours contrivinge, so the former impute the not doinge what they think is good, to the Chancelours not advisinge it. But, you know, what will be, will be, in spite of the Chancelour.

I delivered your letter to the Kinge, and advised him to give it to the new Secretarye¹, as an instance of your

¹ Sir Henry Bennet.

friendshipp to him ; nor do I grüble at the conclusion of it, what good use soever may be made of it, nor thinke that you valed me or my correspondence the lesse, because you desyre a cypher by which you may imparte any thinge of secret to the Kinge, which at partinge you told him you would still do by me, and I am sure will still, when you thinke it best. Trust me, I am not jealous.

I hope your Explanatory Bill¹ will bringe no new clauses which may raise disputes amongst us heare, but that you will send us your owne thoughts upon it a little enlarged. I am my selfe very well satisfied with your order of the Boorde, concerning the Bill of navigaçon, and would have made it if I had bene ther: but the approvinge it at our Boorde would take much debate ; therefore I wished wee ought declayne the debate. You had done well, and our approbaçon was not necessary, so wee did nothinge to discountenance it ; that the accounte of it was in a letter to the Secretarye and not to the Counsel Boorde, and soe wee were not oblidged to write ; and ther it rests.

Dunkirke will be delivered now within 12 or 15 dayes, upon which all men's mouth's are open accordinge to ther severall complecions. The money will shortly be in the Minte, and then wee shall the lesse consider the talke. I refer the rest to the inclosed in cypher : God keepe you and all yours.

[ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER—IN CYPHER.]

I cannot tell you *that I find, what ever other people discourse, my creditt at all diminished with the King. He takes paynes sometimes to perswade me the contrary ; yet this late change makes a great noyse, and gives occasion to others to raise a 1000 rumours of other alterations and removealls, of w^{ch} I do not thinke there is the least ground. That w^{ch} breakes my hearte is, that the same affections continew still,*

¹ Bill explanatory of the Act of Settlement.

the same lazynesse and unconcernednesse in businesse, and a proportionable abatement of reputation ; and this makes a greater impression upon my mind and spirrits than heretofore, by my not having that faithful bosome I had to discharge my selfe into, nor that friend, nor any other who is ready to beare that part in speaking plainly and honestly in proper seasons. Tell me when I shall be repaired that way, or I sinke. And remember that there is not a more ruinous condition in this world, than for a man to fall into the conversation of such men, who can do him no harme by being his enemy, and can only undo him by being his friends.

CXIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Nov. 1. 1662.

UPON my conscience there is not the least grounds for any of those jealousyes which are whispered abroad upon the late alteration of the Secretary, nor was that ever contrived at Somersett-house, or by any other intrigue that is not very notorious ; and, as you know, there hath beene long an inclination, and even a resolution, in the Kinge, to make S^r H. Bennett Secretary upon the first opportunity, so that opportunity, I thinke, was even contrived by the good old Secretary. I am sure it was so entertayned by him, that all things were adiusted with his consent and good likinge, before ever the Kinge spake to him of it ; and therefore I do chide the good old man for giving occasion or leave to any persons to imagine so much to his Majesties prejudice, that he was removed against his will. He hath, on my worde, a very good bargayne of it : I wish some of his

friends had as good, and that they might be quyet; though I thinke they are no more aymed at in the alteration then the Chancellor of Paris, nor no more intençon or thought in any body to give them the ease they would be very well contented to have.

CXIV.

SIR GEORGE CARTERET ¹ to CHARLES II.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA^{TIES},

ALL the money ² was yesterday shipt aboard the yaatches and the kitchin ketch, and they had set sayle this morning, if the towne of Dunkirke had been surrendred yesterday, as was intended: but it is to be don this day; and to morrow in the morning tyde (if the winde and weather holde as it is now), Alderman Backwell ³ shall sayle (God willing) towards England, with a convoy of three of your Ma^{ties} shippes now riding in that roade. According to your Ma^{ties} instructions, together with a very earnest desire of Mons^r D'Estrade (who pretends it will be for your Ma^{ties} service) I shall stay heere untill the French King's

¹ Sir George Carteret was born 1600; became Comptroller of the Navy under Charles I.; was deputy Governor of Jersey during the civil wars. After the Restoration, he was made a Privy Councillor, Vice Chamberlain to the King, and Treasurer of the Navy, and was also a Commissioner for the affairs of Tangier. In 1661, he was elected M. P. for Portsmouth. Died, 1679.

² This money was the 4,500,000 livres payable at Paris, which, together with the 254,000 payable in London, made up the whole sum which Charles II. obtained from France by the sale of Dunkirk.

³ Edward Backwell, an Alderman of London, and an opulent banker. He had been appointed, conjointly with Sir John Shaw, Receiver, Treasurer, and Paymaster for the garrison of Dunkirk; and when that place was sold to France, was sent to Paris to receive the purchase-money. He was ruined by the shutting up of the Exchequer in 1672, and retired to Holland, where he died.

comming, except I receave order from your Ma^y to the contrary. Mons. D'Estrades makes account that hee will be heere about Monday or Tuesday.

I humbly remaine
Your Ma^y most humble and most
obedient subject and servant,
G. CARTERET.

Calais, $\frac{1}{2}$ Nov. 1662.

Directed—"For the King."

CXV.

SIR ROBERT BINDLOS¹ to THE EARL OF DERBY.

[From the State Paper Office. · *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

IN obedience to y^r Lordships comānd, I have here inclosed the letter you sent me from Warrington, directed to John Seddon, now prisoner in Lancaster, with his examination. He pleads ignorance to y^e contents of y^e letter, and alledged that he cañot answer for other mens saylings; nor could I induce him, either by fayre means or fowle, to give his owne interpretation and sence off the letter, though I sifted him as narrowly as I could to all particulars. At the first he disowned the knowledge off any off y^e names subscribed at the bottom of the letter, but XI. 0. Then, upon recollection, he owned whatt is inserted in the examination. His comittment was for refusing the oathes of supremacy and alledgiance, which were since againe by me proferred to him, though by him denyed. Hee ownes himself a member off y^e congregated church, as he styles them,

¹ Sir Robert Bindlos, Bart., was one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County Palatine of Lancaster.

whoe have their usual meetings (as formerly in the rebellious tymes) att Dukes Place, neare Bishopsgate, in London; and that there were, when he left the towne, nine hundred of this pretended church, besides seven other congregated churches in and about London. He likewise confest y^t he had bene at Venners meetings, y^t was executed aboutt two yeares agoe. In earnest, my Lord, I looke upon this person as a very dangerous instrument off y^e phanatickes; and doe believe many of y^e same stamp and horrid principles sent from London on purpose to hold a correspondency wth their friends above, and to watch opportunity to gaine proselytes for a second rebellion. This is all the account I can for the present returne y^r Lords^p concerning this Seddon.

I have likewise sent you the examination off Lawson and Greene, taken by Coll. Kirby, which will give an account how the 40^æ mentioned in Gaudy's letter was disposed off. This is all att present, save only y^t I am, my Lord,

Y^r very faythful humble servant,

ROBT. BINDLOS.

Borwick, Dec^r y^e 8th (62).

Directed — For the Right Hon^{ble} the Earle
of Derby, at Latham. Humbly present.

CXVI.

SIR HENRY BENNET TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Whitehall, Jan. 15. 63.

THIS acknowledges y^e honor of y^r G^{res} of y^e 3rd, wth little of newes to adde to it, y^e last from y^r Counsel not having been yet opend for want of time.

In this dayes letters I have sent one from his M^{ty} to M^r Coventry¹ and M^r Churchill², to inable one or both of them to come into Englonde, in order indeede to y^e use wee shall have of them in y^e Parlim^t here; where, by y^e want of skill and agreement, I feare we shall neede more helpe than wee are like to have; but y^e execution of y^r s^d letter is left to y^r G^{ces} and their owne mindes. M^r Coventry is, as I suppose, invited by my Lord Chancellor.

The declaration³ is as much approved by some as condemned by others; and this latter by those y^t picke quarrells against it, either from y^e supposed author, or from a further meaning than it discovers. Whatever is said otherwise of it, noebody can affirm wth more truth then I, y^t my Lord Chancellor had it distinctly reade twice to him, periode by periode, and not only approvd it, but applauded y^e contents of it, and assured mee it was entirely according to his minde. Y^r G^e may judge by this, how falsely it is suggested that his Lo^p was not privy to it.

I am ever, my Lord,

Y^r Gr^{cs}

Most humble and most

obedient servant,

HENRY BENNET.

His G. My L^d D. of Ormonde.

¹ It is probable that the Mr. Coventry here mentioned, was Henry Coventry, whom Lord Clarendon preferred to his younger brother, Sir William Coventry, and whom he was more likely to have "invited." Both were among the select few who were appointed to meet, for the purpose of arranging the conduct of Parliamentary business on the part of the Government.

² Mr. Churchill is mentioned by Lord Clarendon, as having, together with Mr. Clifford, been added to the number of those whose attendance was required at the above-mentioned meetings. Cont. of Life of Clarendon, ii. 207, 208. 210.

³ The King's Declaration of Dec. 26. 1662. See Kennet's Register, 848.

CXVII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

I COULD not give you any accounte of the declaration, knowing no more of it my selfe, then that one day, when I was in great payne, S^r H. B.¹ came to mee and told mee that the King observed a great spirit of malice abroad, infuseing jealousyes into the people ; and therefore that his Ma^{tie} resolved, as an antidote against that poyson, to publish a declaration w^{ch} was prepared, and hee was sent to read it to me. I was surprized, having never heard word before of such a purpose. When I had heard it, I made many objections against severall parts of it, and some doubte of the sesonablenesse. S^r H. B. departed. Some time after, when I was in the same indisposition, hee came again to me, told me hee had made such alterations as he thought would answer all my objections, and that y^e King resolved that it was time to publish it, and then read it again to me. I told him, by that time he had writ as many declarations as I had done, hee would find they are a very ticklish commodity ; and that the first care is to bee that it shall do no hurt. This is all I know of it. The opinions abroad are different at it ; manie declaring it hath done the Kings businesse, but E. Br.², Lord Ashly, and Sir H. B. otherwise.

Jan^y 31.¹ Sir Henry Bennet.² Earl of Bristol.

CXVIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Worcester House, the 7 of Feb.¹

I sitt downe with a resolution, before I finish this letter, to quit all scores with you; but whether I shall make good this purpose I know not; for the truth is I am very weake, being not yett able to sett ether foote to ground, nor is my heade or my hande without the impression of greate weaknesse, so that what I cannot conclude this day I must putt off till tomorrow.

I shall begynn with your last of the 27, which sprunge from some accounte my L^d Anglesy (with whome I do communicate very freely) gave you of a conference betweene us, in which I rather offred considerations, then conclusyons. You know I cannot be without importunate inclinations to have you heare; and indeede, till I can conferr with you, I am without the use of my owne understanding, and I have a thousande unsettled thoughts; yett I do assure you, I do the more watch my selfe, that no consideration of my selfe may be the least ingredient in my advize of your comminge hither. If the Kings service will not be in all probability advanced by it, and in the meane tyme without danger of being impayred by it, I will never wish it, no, not to gratify any inclinations of your owne; and therefore I charged my L^d Anglesy never to make the least mention of any such thought in you, of which I had hearde somethinge from another good frende, who, I believe, hath never mentioned it to any other body: but I must tell

¹ 1663.

you, I have spoken of it to the King, and to the Duke, upon a view of the huge difficultyes which occur in this consideration of the settlement, and of the importance of knowing your judgement in all particulars; and they both seeme of opinion that your presence heare is exceedingly to be wished, if it can be safely contrived; and under that consideration it yett depends only, I thinke, betweene us three. In order to that end, and the better to facilitate it, and to compose all humors ther, I mentioned the meetinge the Parliament and continuinge together for some tyme, the Kinge writinge to them, and ther sending hither; but the lapse of tyme by my indisposition hath putt all these thoughts out of doore; and if it had not, I am fully convinced by your reasons, that it is nether fitt for them to meete, nor to give them incorragement to send any persons hither; though I do rather doubte the creditt when they returne thither, then ther conversyon heare; since I am confident, that wee shall proceede upon such just groundes heare, in order to the setlinge every distincte interest in that kingdome, that any man who really desyres the peace and settlement of that kingdome, will cheerfully concur with us. So that I conceive you have nothing to do, but to continue the prorogation for 3 monethes longer, in which tyme all may well be done heare, and 2 moneths of that tyme in your companie.

Yours of the 28 of Novemb. was so long since, (for it was written but the day before my last to you, some hours before I fell lame,) that you do not looke for a formall answer to the severall partes of it; yet I cannot but exceedingly thank you for all the copyes you sent then to me with it; and as you had a proper occasyon given you, so your excellent vindication of your selfe from those foolish calumnyes came very seasonably, and, I think, more informed and reformed the Kings understandinge of that whole affayre, then any thinge of that kinde that ever was done. He shewed it me himselfe, and was infinitely satis-

fyed with it; and hath since kept himselfe to those resolutions which, I thinke, will in the end putt a good end to the busyness, how obstructed soever. Tis all our misfortune, who have any part in the publique busynesse, that ther are so many Statesmen, who do believe they understand our places better than wee doe, and consequently censure all wee do, and reproch us for doing it. Ther are very few who have spent a few moneths in Irelande, and returne hither, who do not understande Irelande and the severall interests ther, the constitution of the army, and the garrysons, better than you do, and discourse accordingly; and indeed I believe some, who upon my conscience love you heartily (at least thinke they do), by ther prety observations and reflections, and telling what the best officers of the army ther say and feare, have more contributed to your disadvantage then any malice of your enemyes could doe. But all is over, or will quickly be over; and I thinke things will againe runn in ther proper channell, except through want of skill and foresight, of which wee have abundance.

For the Bill of Settlement, I thinke, you do not thinke it can be returned from hence as it is sent; but as much as is thought fitt to stande, shall passe, with proper additions: and I cannot doubt but it will find a passage ther by the votes of all who do really wish the peace and settlement (for without a settlement the discourse of peace is but a dreame) of that poore kingdome: the King being as just to the severall interests as the persons concerned can wish. The adventurers shall have all the justice they can wish, and all the security; the souldyers all they can with coulour of justice pretend to; the 49 men¹, all that is given or promised by the Declaration and Acte of Settlement; which the Kinge thinks putts them enough upon the advantage groundes over many who have deserved as well, without those additionall

¹ Officers who claimed arrears for service under the King before 1649.

favours proposed on their behalfe in the new Bill. The expedient of giving a sixth parte towards reprzyalls, will, I thinke, be rejected; for besydes that both adventurers and 49 men have directly petitioned against it as unjust towards them who have no more then ther dew, the Kinge is perswaded, by those who have no minde to deceave him, and may be presumed to know somewhat, that a much greater proportion will accrew for reprzyalls from the false ad-measurement, false debentures, grants of Crumwells, and those other wayes, which are all taken away by the clause of giving this 6 parte: at least, if in truth ther do not, all who want reprzyalls, will complayne that his Majesty, by release of what would haue accrewed that way, hath undone them. The release of that clause or savinge in the Acte of Settlement which concernes those who have or shall oppose his Majesty's restoration and settlement, is thought a little too early; for as it will be absolutely discharged upon the execution of the Acte, so, till it be executed, it is but a reasonable brydle upon those who still oppose it, that they may forfett ther share in it. The (And or Or) will be resolved according to the true and literall meaninge of the Declaration and Acte; and whoever was not carefully provyded for by that, have reason only to blame those who had the penning therof.

I do not undervalew a peece of parchement so much as you doe; for ther beinge no other rule of justice but the law, he who can by law provyde that his estate shall not be forfetted for treason, must have the advantage of him, who ether cannot or doth not make such a provisyon: and wee see by this means some of the Kings murtherers, and even S^r H. Vane himself, have left ther estates, or a good parte therof, to ther posterity. The truth is, I do believe treason is not made so terrible, as the progresse it hath lately made in the world requyres it should be; but if any addition of that kinde be made, it must only looke forward, except, in one formidable unhearde of case, a

Parliament shall think fitt to rayse a monument of terror. After all this, I doubt not care will be taken, that they who have this prætence with you, may not gett advantages by forgery or perjury, and may be such as in ther own persons were not capable of beinge nocent; and I hope it will not be harde for you upon enquiry into the claymes, which contayne and determine all prætences of that kinde, even to make a list of the names of all such warrantable prætenders.

CXIX.

LORD CORNBURY¹ to THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

London, this 21st of February, 1663.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,
My father comānds me to give your Grace this trouble, to let you know, that from the very time that he writt last to your Grace, he hath been confined to his chair by a new

¹ Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, eldest son of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, to whose title he succeeded in 1674. He was born June 2. 1638, as appears from an entry in his Diary, June 2. 1688, wherein he says, "I am now this day complete fifty years of age." Correspondence of Clarendon and Rochester, ii. 174. He was made Lord Privy Seal on the accession of James II., and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in December, 1685, of both which offices he was soon deprived; of the latter in January, 1687, and of the former in the ensuing March. Burnet says, "He was very early engaged in great secrets: for his father, apprehending of what fatal consequence it would have been to the King's affairs, if his correspondence had been discovered by unfaithful secretaries, engaged him, when very young, to write all his letters to England in cipher; so that he was generally half the day writing in cipher, or deciphering; and was so discreet as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him. He continued to be still the person whom his father trusted most: and was the most beloved of all the family." Burnet's Own Times, i. 447. His Letters, which, together with his Diary, were published in 1828, edited by Mr. Singer, show him to have been possessed of respectable abilities.

accession of the goute, w^{ch} still is soe much upon him, that hee is not able to stirr. He intended to have dictated a large dispatch to your Grace by this post, but that the King hath been with him, all this afternoone, and stayed soe long with him that he hath not time left to write; wherefore he hath co^manded me to lett your Grace know, that he hath received your letters, and co^municated some of them to the King, who highly recents the usage the Co^mmissioners have mett with, and is very sorry the House of Co^mmons should proceede in so strange a manner, whereby, he says, they will doe themselves noe good, for his Ma^y is resolved to protect his Co^mmissioners. My father will give your Grace a large account of all particulars by the next post; in the meane time he thought fitt to let you know, in some part, how much the King is dissatisfied with those proceedings. I humbly aske your Grace's pardon for this great presumption, and lay myselfe at your feete, as

May it please your Grace,
 Your most dutiful and most
 obedient servant,
 H. CORNBURY.

CXX.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

THE next day after I writt last to you (which is almost a moneth), when I thought my selfe master of my disease, havinge gone six dayes to Westm. Hall, and thinkinge my selfe every day better than before, the terrible sharpe weather brought my gowte upon me agayne, which seized

me so vyolently, that from that tyme to this, I have not only not been able to goe out of my chamber, but till yesterday not able to sette ether foote to the grounde. I call now all my spiritts aboute me, to inable me to sitt up in a chayre and write to you, not with a purpose to answer 3 of yours which are before me, to the particulars wherof I shall not reply, till I have more strength, but to tell you how exceedingly I am afflicted to heare in how ill a state and condition that poore kingdome is, and in how much worse it is like probably to be.

You will finde, by the King's letter to you, with what indignation he lookes upon the proceedings of the House of Commons ther with reference to his Commissyoners, who will be protected by him to the uttermost. Upon this subiecte, I intende to write so freely to the Earle of Orrary, that I will spare you, and inlarge my selfe only upon such particulars as immediately concerne your selfe, and the feare and apprehensyon I have on your behalfe and for you. I do feare (and the best frends you have are in that pointe as fearefull as I am) that you do not enough impose upon your owne natural temper and disposition, upon that lenity and condesencion in your nature, which disposes you to please every body; in a worde, that you do not enough make your selfe obeyed, by exacting a submission from others to what you know is just, and reasonable and necessary for the Kings service, and the peace and prosperity of the kingdome, of which you were made the judge; his Majesty well knowinge how incompetent considerers, the passyons and interest of other men, would make them. The Kinge hath not only putt that kingdome under your government, but the Councell too; and if they do not concurr with you in all necessary remedyes and provisyons for the publique, upon those righteous foundations the Kinge hath layde, it will be imputed to your faulte, for you know the King will follow your advize in removinge unfitt, and promotinge worthy persons. I pray remember,

that the Bill of Settlement, with all those exorbitant and monstrous provisoes, had never passed, but upon your desyre. I am sure there was an expresse order at the Boorde, that all the provisoes should be left out: but I know not how afterwards, upon your advize, to avoyde delay, and because some of the provisoes seemed agreeable to the sense and meaning of the declaration, that reference was made to you and the Councell, to cast out those you disliked, upon a trust on the Kings parte, that you would be sure that such as were unjust and skandalous, and such as in truth destroy the principall end of the Declaration in provydinge reprzyals, should be rejected. And upon the like trust, and a trust intirely in you, there is a latitude and a deference to you and the Councell, to give such instructions and rules to the Commissioners for ther proceedings, as you should judge fitt; the Kinge well knowing that there are many Councillors, who are too much concerned in their own interest to be intire de-rectors in those cases, but relyinge still on you, that all should be done that is just and necessary.

How the Commissyoners were chosen, and that if they were to be chosen agayne, they would not be better chosen, you know well. They all acknowledge infinite obligations to you — that you are gracious and kinde and all that they can wish towards them; but, I must tell you, they do not thinke, nor dothe the Kinge thinke, that they have received all the countenance, or assistance, or dispatch from the Councell, which they ought to have; and a little discountenance from them may easily dispose others to shew greater disrespecte towards them than any honest man can wish. I could not write all this, but from the deepe apprehensyon I have of troubles upon that kingdome from that vyolent distemper in the House of Commons, with which the Kinge will never in the least degree comply, and hopes and is confident, that you will never give countenance to. They have no authority to directe the Commissyoners, nor

will his Majesty suffer his commissyoners to be derved by them. If they make such humble addresses and petitions to you as are agreable to your dignity, you know well to answer them, and to consent to what is reasonable, and to aske the opinion and advize of the counsell when it is necessary; but the King is horribly angry that they should presume to demaunde that a committee of the privy counsell should be appointed to conferr and treat with them, which he hopes you will never admitt.

I hope wyse men will bethinke themselves, and foresee what must be the issue of these distempers, if delays are putt in the way, or affrontes offred to the commissyoners. The King can easily call them away, and send them agayne in a soberer season; and in the meane tyme, what will men get by the acte of settlement? I assure you the King very hardly forbears, upon the provocation of the House of Commons, to send you orders to dissolve them, but that he relies upon your wisdom to do it before you will suffer any new indignities: but I hope you will not be putt to use these rough remedies, lesse, to indure some insolencies which are reported heare; as, they say, some men, who owe all they have to the Kings mercy have sayd, that as they have gott all they have by ther sword, so they will keepe it by ther sworde. It is greate pittie such seditious persons, of what quality or qualification soever, should be at liberty. Assure your selfe the King will do all that is in his power to assiste you, and to putt you into a posture of beinge able to suppress all seditious attempts, and to controle and secure all seditious persons, before they can make any desperate attempts; and I know you will be as vigilante to purge your way, and to appeare very severe and resolved to be obeyed. Ther is an odd story about the towne of one Ayres (I thinke his name is), who endeavoured to corrupte a souldyer to the delivery of the castle, and that though in pryson, ther is no proceedinge against him. I cannot think it possible. You must

do some notable piece of iustice, how much soever against your nature, to make your selfe feared, without which you cannot be enough esteemed.

I am so tyred I can say no more, and therefore all the newes of this towne, you must receave from some other who is fitter for the communication then I am. God blesse you and all yours.

Worcester House, this 28 of Febr.

Endorsed by the Duke of Ormond—

"L^d Chancellor of Englande. 28 Feb.
1662, Rec. 6. March."

CXXI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

If I had not been enough deceived, I should tel you that I am not altogether soe melancholyque as I was on Tuesday, when I writt last. I have some reason to beleve (at least hope) that the King doth begin to find that he hath beene misled by those who weare themselves never in the right way. His Majestie, two dayes since, appointed me to attend him alone, which, for a good time I had not done, and spake very freely to me; and indeed I think he will endeavour to recover the ground he hath lost, and it is time. I shall be able, after one week more, to tell you some what more that you may judge by. I do really beleve that E. S^t Albans had no hand in the counsell, and he doth enough declare against them. I hope all obstacles are removed in your owne affaire.

Endorsed by the Duke of Ormond—

"L^d Cha. with his letter of the 21.
Mar. 1662." ¹

¹ 1663.

CXXII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF
ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Worcester House, this 11th of April, 1663.

I AM sorry you have so much reason to think me too sanguine in my hopes and imagination, and the more so sorry, because I was not without reason for that imagination; but by it you see that I had cause enough for that passion, which I expressed when we were last together with the King at Hampton Court; and the truth is, since your departure I have had so unpleasant a life as that, for my own ease and content, I rather wish myself at Breda, and have hardly been able to restraints myself from making that suite. I know not what S^r Hen. Bennett means by provocation and resentment; but he hath credit enough to persuade the King that, because I did not like what was done, I have raised all the evil spirit that hath appeared upon and against it, which I think you will absolve me from; for without doubt I could as easily turne Turcke as act that part. On the contrary, God knows I have taken as much paines to prevent those distempers as if I had been the contriver of the counsellors. I did in truth beleve that the King had been satisfied with my protestations in that kind, not because I made them, but because he knew my nature and passion for his service could not admit such corruption. But S^r H. Bennet and his friends have more credit, w^{ch} I doe not envy them, except for our poore Masters sake, for he doth every day so weake and unskilfull things as he will never have the reputation of a good minister, nor is in any degree able for that province. If the House of Commons be in truth of such a temper as he says, we have no reason to imagine we can

ever have a better, and without all peradventure, if we do not commit great faults which we are prone to, that body will serve the Crowne to a degree none ever yet did. All my hope is, that the multiplying faults, and the manifestation of the folly and madness of those who conduct us into those faults, will in the end put an end to them. I am sure you know me enough to be confident that no unkindnesse, or provocation, or temptation, can make me remiss in my duty, zeale, and affection, or dispose me to sullenness: and then I shall always have your friendship.

CXXIII.

J. TALBOT¹ to LORD HERBERT.²

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

July y^e 11th, 3

MY LORD,

I SHALL now send you newes w^{ch} hath bin long talk't on, and I thinke wish'd for by none but y^e enemies of our

¹ It is not probable that the writer of this letter was the Sir John Talbot, M.P. for Knaresborough, who, in January 1668, was second to Lord Shrewsbury in his noted duel with the Duke of Buckingham. I should infer, from the style and tone of the letter, that it was the production of one of those hired writers of news, who, till newspapers became more common, were employed by many persons of rank and wealth to transmit intelligence to them in the country. This practice, according to Dr. Whitaker, was continued in the family of the Earl of Cumberland till 1687; and he gives the following extract from an account-book of an earlier period: — "163³. To Captayne Robinson, by my lo. com'ds, for writing letters of news to his l^p, "for a half year, 5*l*." — Whitaker's History of Craven, 276.

² Henry Lord Herbert, only son of Edward, second Marquis of Worcester, whom he succeeded in that title in April 1667. He was one of the committee of eighteen deputed by the two Houses of Parliament, a few weeks before the Restoration, to wait on Charles II. at the Hague. In July 1660 he was made Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire. On Dec. 2, 1682, he was created Duke of Beaufort. He exerted himself on behalf of James II. against the Duke of Monmouth, and at the Revolution of 1688, and refused to take the oaths under William III. He died Jan., 21 1699. There was at the time when this letter was written another Lord Herbert, son of the sixth Earl of Pembroke; but the direction "at Badmington" shows that it was not to him, but to the son of Lord Worcester, that this letter was addressed.

³ 1663.

peace. 'T is y^e impeachm^t brought yesterday into y^e house of Lords by E. Bristoll, ag^t y^e E. of Clarendon (being of treason and other high misdemean^{rs}), and read. I will not undertake to give you y^e exact heads, because twas ordered y^t only 3 coppies should be delivd, one to y^e K., one to y^e L^d Chanc^r, and one to y^e Judges, who are to deliv^r theyr opinions on Munday to y^e House, whether any of y^e particulars were (by law) treasonable.

They were these.

1. y^t he had aspers'd y^e K. as inclinable to Popery, saying y^t y^e K. had given 10,000*l*. to buy out an old Protest^t secretary to make roome for a new one, who is a knowne Papist.
2. y^t he had design'd y^e makeing differences betweene y^e K. and his bro^r, alleadging y^t y^e K. intended to legitimate y^e D. of Monmouth.
3. y^t he had endeav^d y^e alienating y^e K.'s affec^{ns} fr. his houses of Parl., alleadging the H. of Lords were a weak and inconsiderable H. of Lords, and stiled y^e illustrious H. of Co^mons a weak and heady H. of Co^mons; and rather then to be beholding to y^m for mony aduised,
4. y^e sale of Dunkirk, for w^{ch} he had rec^d (more then accounted to y^e K.) 100,000*l*.
5. y^t he had aduised and carried on y^e demolishing y^e cittadels in Scotland.
6. and had made a disadvantageous peace wth Holland, for w^{ch} he had rec^d 60,000*l*.
7. sould offices of judicature contrary to law.
8. had placed his owne freinds and creatures ffarmers of y^e Customes, and procured theyr bargaine at an undervalue.
9. had converted publick moneyes to his own use, particularly monys out of Ireland, and had gott vast su^mes by pcuring easie compositions for Irish rebels.

10. had contrived y^e marriage of his daughter to y^e Duke of York, and to carry on his designe had brook of y^e match wth Spayne and others; had carried on y^t with Portugal (for w^{ch} he had rec^d great su^mes), and had contrived y^e K.'s marriage by a Romish preist, contrary to y^e lawe of y^e land, that thereby y^e succession might be hereafter questionable.
 11. that he had acted as a publick minist^r wth out order, and sent to y^e Gov^r of Bombay not to deliver it into y^e King's hands, or to that effect.
 12. that he must accuse him for being popishly affected, for y^t he had made applications to Roome for a cardinalls capp for y^e L^d Aubigny; had sent one Bealing his servant wth severall letters to y^e cardinalls in order thereunto, wherby he did owne y^e popes supremacy in England in spiritual affaires, contrary to lawe, to y^e duty of a privy counsell^r and y^e oath he had taken.
-
1. after this he stood up and desired y^e E. of Clarendon might be secured.
 2. y^t y^e Kings counsell should be ordered to draw up a charge of high treason.
 3. y^t he might have libertie to draw up new heads as he should receive new inform^s.
 4. y^t y^e L^d Aubigny and Rich^d Beling may be com^danded not to depart England.
 5. and y^t a Co^mission bee issued out for y^e examination of witnesses in Ireland and Scotland.

The L^d Chancell^r stood up and answered to every particular of y^e charge, and offered y^t if there were one article could be proued (except in y^t of y^e sale of offices, wherein he had acted noe otherwise then his predecessors for 100 yeares, and what he would justify by lawe)

he would acknowledge himselfe guiltie of the whole charge.

The House ordered that y^e judges should on Munday deliver theyr opinions as afores^d.

This day y^e E. of Bristol moued y^t y^e order might be altered as to y^e form of prosecution, y^t it might be by bill in par^lt, and that y^e K^s Councill might be ordered to draw up a bill, for y^t y^e Chancell^r being a great minis^r and cheafe of y^e profession, he could get none of them to doe it; but 't was not agreed unto.

I shall not trouble you wth other newes at this time, but conclude wth congratulating y^r happyness in y^r ladies safety, and another sonne, and soe I w^{sh}.

Y^r Lo^{pps} most^e obedient serv^t,

J. T.

For the Lord Herbert, at Badmington. Leave
this in Chippenham, Wiltshire.
J. Talbot.

CXXIV.

THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

WE have mett about assessing the Lords; and I can give you noe other account of it than what probably you expect. Every one is kinder to himself and friends than large-hearted to the publick. It was given soe, as I conceive the narrow proportion of 1641 will be in the main one sum; and that is not much above 4300*l*. for our sub-

sidy of the whole temporall nobility. This we want to compleat our worke, that you appoint a collector, whom, though I suppose it wilbe M^r Clutterbuck, yet we attend your L^{ops} designation of him, that wee may with authority name him in the instrument.

I am, my Lord,

Your Ld^{ps} humble servant,

SOUTHAMPTON.

Sep^{br} 5. 1663.

CXXV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague 18 Sep. 1663, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R LOPP,

I HAVE herein inclosed a copy of my memoriall, w^{ch} I have this weeke given in to y^e States Genrall, persuant to y^e instruc^{ti}ons sent me by y^e post. This trick of y^e Holland^{ers} to declare warre wth y^e natives in y^e East Indies and upon y^e Coast of Africa, wth whom his Ma^{ty}s subjects have any trade, and then thereupon to forbid them all trade with them, and to continue y^e warre till they have brought those natives to an agreem^t wth them, to sell them all their comodities, and then to keep y^e English from tradeing, upon the accompt that the natives have agreed wth them, to sell all to them;—this trick, I say, hath not only bin y^e ruine of numbers of his Ma^{ty}s subjects, but beaten them out of many mighty trades, and will certainly in conclusion utterly overthrow y^e English East Indian, and African Comp^{ies}, if nothing be applied for remedie but wordes. There is nothing makes them here so proud as to

have y^e English come hither eternally wth complaints, while their people are unmolested, advance their trade, and obtaine their ends. This state haveing once or twice complained to y^e King of Spaine of y^e private men of warre, wth Spanish Comissions, that they visited their ships, and troubled their trade, without farther delay sent Vice-Admirall Cortmar upon y^e coasts of Portugall wth a squadron of ships, wth order to take all of them he could meet with, who, in pursuance thereof, hath already taken nine of them; and now that y^e Spaniards crye as well as they, they will have reason; and truly I am of opinion it were better that I should make no complaine at all here, but let his Ma^{ties} subjects patiently suffer whatever it will please the Dutch to doe to them, then to complaine, and nothing to follow thereupon, whereby to lett them see that his Ma^{ties} will not be put of with wordes and delays. I am sure this mealeie way is not y^e meanes to hinder a warre between England and this country, but y^e most certaine and undoubted way to bring it on, making them so farr to presume as (as you finde) to add one injury to another; and believe it, y^e more they may, y^e more they will. Whereas, on the other side, pay them in their own kind, and set their subjects a crying as well as his Ma^{ties}, and you will have a very faire correspondence, and they will take heed what they doe; and his Ma^{ties} shall be as much honrd and loved here as he hath been dispised: for they love nor hon^r none but them that they think both can and dare bite them. The King of France his subjects have now right done them, and so had y^e English in Cromwells time; and, having news that the Swedes are setting out two stout men of warre for y^e coast of Africa, to revenge themselves of y^e injuries they have suffered there by this country, they are here now a^ccomodating those matters wth y^e Swedes in earnest; whereas y^e poor King of Denmark cannot so much as get a civill answere from them for what his subjects have had taken from them in those parts, to whom yet in point

of kindness and obligacōn (if these argum^{ts} were of any force), they owe more then to all y^e world besides; for that he not only gives them such great priviledges in all his domiōns in pointe of trade, but at their instigacon undertooke y^e late warre ag^t Sweden, w^{ch} cost him the y^e best part of his kingdome.

Some dayes since, Monsieur Friquet, y^e Emperors minister, came to see me. After other discourses, he fell upon y^e affayres and present posture of Spayne and y^e Empire, and sayd his Ma^{ty} might in time have cause to repent his adhering so much to, and so promoting y^e affayres of France, and being an occasion of bringing Spayne so low. I told him his Ma^{ty} was very well inclined to y^e King of Spayne, and y^t, for my particular, I should be very glad to contribute my endeavours to sett all at right between him and Spayne. He asked whether I would give him leave to say as much to Gamarat, y^e Spanish Amb^r. I told him yea, remembering y^t y^r Lordship, a little before my going hence, had wrote to me to sound Gamarat, and try w^t I could do wth him. Heerupon, on Wednesday last, Friquet returned to me, and told me he had acquainted Gamarat, and y^t he desired to speake wth me privately at a third place, for avoyding publique notice, and talking thereof, w^{ch} I consented unto; and accordingly we mett. Gamarat protested highly his own good will to his Ma^{ty}s service, and y^e strong inclinations y^t were in y^e Court of Spayne to a hearty close wth his Ma^{ty}, and pressed y^t his Ma^{ty} would send an Amb^r thither. I replied y^t I thought Spayne had at this time more need of his Ma^{ty}s friendship yⁿ his Ma^{ty} of theirs; and therefore y^t it was more fitt for y^m to send. Besides, I told him y^t his Ma^{ty} was at this time well wth France, and therefore would not give y^m jealousy upon uncertayntyes. Beside an Ambassade was a certayn charge, but y^e issue uncertayne; and if his Ma^{ty} should send thither, and matters not be brought to a conclusion, it would be a reflection upon his honour: neither did I think England was

this time to seek resons from Spayne; and I considered y^t w^t ever treaty his Ma^{ty} must carry on att Madrid, must also be carried on upon great disadvantage to him, and so not able to vary his orders upon emergencyes. But I told him, if I could do any service to ripen and dispose matters, I should be very willing to it, w^{ch} he accepted very kindly, and will I am confident give an account both to Caracena and y^e King of Spayne of w^t passed. And, my Lord, I think it may be very much to his Ma^{ty's} service if I had an instruction by itself, or a power to enter into treaty, wth limit, if he desire it. So I ended all y^e warr of the north, w^{ch} else might have continued to this day. They were able to do no good in it neither at London, nor in y^e north; and so you know in y^e treaty between his Ma^{ty} and this country, such an instruction will cost his Ma^{ty} nothing; and this is an unsuspected place; and farther, if any good come, its well: if not, there is no hurt, his Ma^{ty} not having sent thither, nor no expence of money; and I am confident by what I guesse, if they see not probabilities of his Ma^{ty} sending an Amb^r speedily to Madrid (w^{ch} I¹ not y^e advisableness of) I shall hear again from him; and I am sure I shall hold him to it; and his M^{ty} can, upon all evenements, vary his instructions to me. I thank God, I never yet meddled in any thing of this nature, but w^t at last I carryed throw, and to satisfaction of those y^t sett me att work: and I am sure its hygh time his Ma^{ty} were upon better termes wth Spayne; and I am sure this is y^e quickest, as well as y^e cheapest way, and y^e more advantageous and honorable, and safe for his Ma^{ty}; and you can every tenn dayes know w^t passeth.

I had last week long discourses with De Witt; and I assure you he seemed and is very sensible of y^e danger hangs over y^m from France; and I doubt not to improve it to his M^{ty's} advantage. But I must not press y^m too fast, but

1 Sic.

only shew a readinesse to receive first impressions, as they have.

As for y^e busines of those Piedmont, its true y^e Protestants here ill deserved many of y^m from his Ma^{ty}, but yet I am sure it is his interest not to seem to remember it, but to carry himself as defender of y^m; and I am sure he will thereby gayn y^m to him, and by no other interest can he become considerable in troopes. And w^t was written by Boreel — y^t my L^d Hollys sayd he wanted instructions concerning y^t business — by Cuneus (as you will find in his letter herein inclosed) y^t his Ma^{ty} Ministers at London should shew themselves well inclined, but y^t they feared his Ma^{ty} would not, — is made use of heer to disaffect y^e people and ministers heer to his Ma^{ty}, who truly begin to be much better affected to him yⁿ they were. What is desired is, y^t his Ma^{ty} give my Lord Hollys instructions to speak for y^m in y^e Court of France; and if his Ma^{ty} should refuse it, it would make strong impressions, and be strangely construed heer. And, on y^e contrary, if you would forbear giving any answer to Cuneus, but give me order to notify y^t his Ma^{ty} hath given such instructions to my L^d Hollys, I should improve it: but by y^t too familiar conversing wth Cuneus, giving him too readily w^t he demands, makes y^m say they have no need of an Amb^r at London, wheras they always heer make little esteem, and little regard y^e secretary of any Minister.

Your Lordships most obed. humb. Serv^t.

G. DOWNING.

CXXVL

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 25 Sep. 1663. O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.

DEWITT prevented my waiting on him by giveing me a visitt on Munday last, at w^{ch} time I delivered him yo^r Lopp^s letter, w^{ch} he tooke very kindly, and thankt me, but especially in regard to y^e last clause thereof, wherein yo^r Lopp. hinted yo^r sense of *the present designs on foote in Christendome*, and that he should endeav^r, and did not doubt but to be able so to dispose matters, as that *no hurt* should come to either thereby; and discourst very largely upon that subject. I then spoke to him about the business of their having so long *delayed the sending an Ambassador into England*; and I found, upon the discourse, that the bottome of the business was, that he did not like *Boreele*, whom *Zealand* had pitched upon: but he said that their deputies w^{ch} were now going to *Zealand*, should have it in charge, to endeav^r to induce them to pitch upon such a man as *Holland* might like. But this is certaine, while matters are in the posture they now are in between *Holland* and *Zealand*, *Holland* will like no man the states of *Zealand* shall nominate.

I alsoe, as by the by, gave a touch concerning the presente for his Ma^{ty}s co^mmission^{rs} ¹ in y^e said treatie; to w^{ch}

¹ The commissioners here referred to were the Duke of Albemarle, the Earls of Manchester and Portland, Lords Robartes, Hollis, and Ashley, Sir Charles Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Morrice. — See Dumont's *Corps Diplomatique Universel*. VI. part 11. 423.

he replied, that those for France were not yet sent, but that both the one and the other should assuredly be sent; and he desired me to hint so much to yo^r Lopp, and that y^e sum was seventie thousand gilders, and that it was all one to him whether it was sent in plate, or hangings, or in mony; and therefore that yo^r Lopp. would be pleased to let mee know w^{ch} will be most acceptable; and that whereas he knew not well how many there were that were to have shares, that, if yo^r Lo^{pp} pleased, it should be sent to you, by you to be distributed; so I pray yo^r Lo^{pps} answer hereunto.

The West Indie Comp^y here have news that a castle at Cape Corso is delivered to them by the natives who were in possession of it, at y^e mouth of y^e river there; and they say that having now this castle, and their castle Del Mina, that they will absolute prohibite all natives from tradeing thereabouts; and it is said that the trade there is the best in all Guinea. This castle doth of right belong to y^e Danes; and now that Haniball Sessted¹ is to come to London, if he could so manage matters, as that y^e Danes should resigne to his Ma^{ty} their interest in this castle, it would be a good business. And it will now be a fitt time to press an agreem^t, that such English ships as will may be branded, and being branded to enjoy y^e same priviledge of paying according to their brand as y^e Dutch doe, w^{ch} I assure you would be a great advantage to y^e English naviga^{co}n to Norway and the Sound; and it is neither kind, nor just, nor fitt, for his Ma^{ty} to suffer that his subjects should have worse treatment in the King of Denmarks country, then y^e Dutch. And it is those bulkie trades that give y^e greatest employm^t to shipping. And I am certaine that, till this priviledge bee gained, y^e

¹ Hannibal Zested, a Danish minister, employed by the King of Denmark in various high official and diplomatic situations, successively Ambassador to the courts of London and Paris. His name is variously spelt — sometimes "Zeersted" and "Sehested."

commodities of those parts must and will be brought home in foreign ships; and (if I mistake not) the King of Denmark is not in a condition to deny his Ma^{ty} a thing w^{ch} he hath so much reason to expect and insist upon.

I shall always be, my L^d,

Y^r L^dships most obed. humb. ser^t,

G. DOWNING.

To the Earle of Clarendon.

CXXVII.

CHARLES II. to SIR GEORGE DOWNING.

[From the State Paper Office. *Official Duplicate.*]

TRULY and well beloved, wee greet you well; wee formerly received many complaints from our East India Company, of the great wrongs and damages sustayned by them from the Dutch East India Company: and thereupon provided that satisfaction should bee made unto our subjects, as is expressed in the 15th article of the late treaty. But when wee expected a more freindly correspondence for the future, wee have to our grief received fresh complaints from our said company of y^e continued injuries done to them, and new affronts offered to us by the said Dutch Company in India, in such manner as followeth. After the said treaty was entered upon, but before the notification thereof, the States Generall, as also the East India Company of the Netherlands, sent their order for the restitution and delivery of Pularoone (though they had no right at all so long to have detained the same); and thereupon our East India Company suspecting noe fraud, furnished forth some shippes, and were at great charge in sending to receive the same, which they hoped would, according to promise, have been delivered them. But the

effect of these orders hath been frustrated (as wee heare) by the States private letters to the Generall of Batavia and Governor of Banda Islands, and all the charge of our East India Company been fruitlesse, soe as thereby great damages have accrewed to them. The Dutch have also (contrary to the good intelligence mutually established in and by the said Treaty) obstructed our Companies trade in the north parts of India, even at their owne houses and factories at Porcat and Calevellor, denying not only their ships, but one of our owne royall navy to take in her lading there, as doth more fully appear by the papers here inclosed, together with the damage which our said Company hath thereby suffered. Wee cannot but highly resent these unfriendly proceedings (to say noe worse), directly opposite to the intent of the said Treaty, the equality and freedome of trade due to our subjects, and, most of all, to our owne royal honour and dignity; and therefore doe hereby require and command you to make speedy application to the States Generall in our name, vigorously representing unto them both the forementioned wrongs, and our just sense of the same, for which you are also to demand and use your uttermost diligence to procure satisfaction. To wit — that all the damage brought upon our said Company, by the refusing to deliver up the said Island of Pularoone claimed and demanded, bee fully and justly satisfied in an amicable way within the yeare, wherein if there can bee noe accommodation, then to bee left to the arbitration of Commissioners afterwards. But, for that injury done at Porcat, being committed since the said Treaty was ratified and confirmed, you are to require speedy satisfaction without processe or delay; wee being resolved, in case such demand bee not satisfied, to use our best remedy for the protection of our subjects and the maintenance of our honour, according to the power God hath put into our hands. Lastly, that as wee, on our part, have always here been forward to doe justice upon any occasion

according to the said late Treaty, and if we find a mutuall compliance, shall instantly persist in the like good intentions; soe wee expect noe lesse from the States Generall, but that they and their subjects conserve that amity and good neighbourhood every where, which the said Treaty hath so fully and solemnly provided for; and that hereafter they doe not hinder our subjects from trading at any place, under pretence of their making warre there. And wee doe further expect and desire, that a good understanding, and inviolate friendship bee maintained between our subjects and those of the States Generall in East India, and that good offices be done betwixt the one and the other, wherein ours shall not be failing; and if theirs bee, wee shall omitt noe meanes to redresse it; our chief ayme being (wherein we expect also an effectuall concurrence of the States) that trade, on both sides, may be managed and conducted regularly, and in good order. These particulars you will presente according to your wonted diligence; and of your proceedings herein wee doe expect to receive an accompt. And soe wee bid you farewell.

Given at our Courte at Whitehall, the 30th day of
October, 1663, in the fifteenth yeare of our Reigne.

By his Majesty's command.

W. MORRICE.

CXXVIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, Nov. 6. 63.

THIS weeke Dewitt proposed in the Estates Geñäff, that fresh letters be written to y^e Provinces of Gelderland and

Zeland, to furnish forthwith their quota of the money for y^e presents for his Ma^{ties} Comm^{rs}; and it will be one pointe to be considered this next Assembly of Holland, viz^t, the sending of an Ambassad^r for England.

The lesson read to Cuneus, I assure yo^r Lo^{pp}, workes very well; and as I have often said, if his Ma^{tie} will be consider^d here, he shall be considered here; and if he will maintaine his subjects in their right, they shall have right; if otherwise, both he and they laughed att, and scorned.

I this weeke gave a visitt to Mons^r Canizius, y^e Danish Resident, to acquaint him, according to my orders from his Ma^{tie}, that I was ready to doe him all friendly offices I could, in rela^{cion} to y^e wronges they had sustained, by y^e West India Comp^{ie} of this country, upon y^e coast of Guinie. He thanked me very heartily, and said he would give his M^r an accompt thereof with y^e first, but withall added, that talking onely would doe no good, nor obtaine any satisfac^{on} for what is past, nor security for the future from these people, who regarded not wordes at all, unless attended with some thing that was reall, and did bite; adding, that one of y^e Comm^{rs} of the Estates themselves apointed to treat with him about these businesses, talking wth him in a friendly manner, sayd to him, that he wonder^d that he, who knew this country so well, would thus trouble himselfe to give in Memoriall after Memoriall, and one letter after another from his M^r, as if any thing were to be gotten here by wordes; but that if y^e King of Denmarke would first attempt something in revenge ag^t y^e West India Comp^{ie} of this country, that then he might expect a good issue: and he added, that he hoped that when Haniball Sested should come to London, there would be some jointe conclusions taken of this nature. And this is certaine,—that the rooted desaigne of y^e West India Company here, w^{ch} they doe and will drive on by all meanes right and wrong, is to make themselves masters of all y^e considerable ports upon the coast of Guinie and

those parts; and being now possessed of y^e Fort at Cabo Corco, yo^r Lopp. may take it from me, that they will in a very little time take Frederixburgh also from y^e Danes, w^{ch} is opposite to Cabo Corco, on y^e the other side of y^e same harbour, and is but a very weake place, and hath but very few men in it; and haveing that will suffer none to trade in those parts, w^{ch} is, as I heare, y^e the best trade of Guinie. So that I could heartily wish matters might be so ordered, that, that Castle might be forthwith delivered into his Ma^{ty}s hands, upon condiçõn that y^e Danes may still have liberty of trade there, and so they would be sure of something, whereas otherwise I am sure they will loose both y^e place and y^e trade, w^{ch} would be a very great blow to y^e Royal Comp^{ie} also. But what you doe herein must be done quickly, else it will be too late.

The two Swedish ships, concerning w^{ch} I lately gave yo^r Lopp. an accompt, it seems their designe was to have seized the Fort at Cabo Corço, for that being on their way as farre as y^e Sound, and hearing there that the Dutch had gott y^e same, they stopped, and sent to Stockholme for farther orders. Queen Christina her Minister is gone hence this weeke, without haveing so much as his credentialls received, they not being directed aright. There dyed last weeke of the plague in Amsterdam 396, w^{ch} is less then the week before.

Y^r Lopp^s obedient serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

To the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High
Chancellor of England.

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CXXIX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 20th of Nov. 1663, O. S.

Y^e Admiraltie¹ of Amsterdam have ordered another convoy before winter for y^e Streights, notwithstanding y^e great number of ships gone out thither this last weeke—so great is their trade to these parts. They are greatly alarm'd att y^e Treatie, and transacçõs of Corteen, a French man, with those of Lubeck and Hamburg, for y^e setling of a staple there, of w^{ch} their Resident at Copenhagen hath this weeke given them an accompt; w^{ch} is a business managed and putt on by Mons^r Colebert¹, who hath some understanding in buisiness of trade, and makes it his buisiness to make France considerable therein, and in shipping. And they say that thereby the wines and salt of France, instead of coming first to this countrie, shall pass directly for Lubeck and those parts, and y^e goods of y^e Balticke Sea be carried directly from thence for France: and they say that proposiçõs are made or makeing from Sweden, to our M^r, to the like effect. I dare say it is an easie thing, if his Ma^{tie} please, for him to gaine a great share in that trade. I would not say it, but that I know it.

The East India Comp^y here, also, are extreemly alarm'd

¹ Jean Baptiste Colbert, the celebrated Minister, born in 1619; entered official life in 1648, under the protection of Le Tellier: afterwards was Secretary to Mazarin, by whose recommendation he was, in 1661, made Intendant of Finance. In 1664 he was made Superintendent of Buildings; in 1669, Secretary of State, and especially charged with the superintendence of naval affairs; in 1672, First Minister of State. He died Sept. 6. 1683.

at y^e 3 ships, w^{ch} are now ready to goe out of France, for y^e Red Sea, with comission from y^e King of France, to pirate in those partes, haveing on board them 30 Dutch men well acquainted wth those seas. They say that by this meanes y^e French will become as troublesome there, as they used to be in Brest, and other parts of Brittany; and that although their comission be only agst y^e Natives of those countries, yett that, being there, they will stretch a little at least; that they will pretend to visitt their ships, as the Turks doe; and besides that, by this meanes, they will come to the knowledge of the East India trade, and so by little and little fall into it. And it is evident, that however y^e King of France doth caresse this country in wordes and complem^{ts}, yett that, in pointe of trade, none ever gave himself so much to enrich his subjects, or beate down this country. The Direct^{rs} of y^e East India Comp^y doe so much apprehend this buisiness, that they have already moved y^e Estates for a placcart to be issued out agst any that shall disturbe y^e freedome and securitie of trade, in any parte of y^e East Indies, that so they may seize upon these French ships under that pretext: and thus you see these people doe arrogate to themselves S^t Peters power on the seas. It is mare liberum in the Brittish Seas, but mare clausum on y^e coast of Africa and in y^e East Indies.

For Richardson, now he is p^{ro}claimed a fugitive, I can, by y^e 6th and 7th Article of the Treaty wth this country, demand his banishment out of this countrey, but not his being delivered to me; and its not good for me to ask a thing of y^e nature to be denyed, and his Ma^{ty}s order this post to me by Sec^{ry} Bennett, is to take care not to aske it unles I be sure it will be granted; for if his Ma^{ty}e will have me ask his being banished, y^e I must have his Ma^{ty}s letter to y^e Etats Gen^l to demand it, for so it stands in y^e 7th Article of y^e Treaty. Yet, should any more of the wicked vile judges come hither, or such notorious people,

then, it is now by y^e Treaty p^rvided also, y^t rebels shall be banished; or if any eminent wretch should come, I would strayne to gett him by one way or other into my fingers. So I pray let me know his Ma^{ty}s pleasure. I most humbly thank y^r L^dship for y^r willingnes to assist my serv^t: he will wayt on you if need.

I am, my L^d,
Y^r L^dships most obed. humb. ser^t,
G. DOWNING.

CXXX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 18 Dec. 63.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r. LOPP,

I HAD not time to give you a particular account by the last, of what passed at the conference w^{ch} I had then had wth y^e Deputies of y^e Estates Geⁿerall, y^e which should have been concerning y^e ships Charles and James also; but it was 7 att night (w^{ch} is the time of y^e post goeing away) ere we had done wth y^e Bona Esperanza, and Henry Bon Advent, and Hopewell, and Leopard. There were present severall Direct^{rs} of y^e East Indie Comp^{ie}, wth their Advocat Vandam; and for the persons interested in y^e Bona Esper. and Henbonadv. there was present his Ma^{ty}s Advocate Oyens, wth 2 other Advocats; and the matter of y^e said 2 ships was argued between them, in y^e presence of my selfe and the Deputies of the Estates, according as the s^d Estates had desired of me that it might be.

But now I must tell you that y^e first thing that Vandam mençoned, was, 'There is,' (said he) 'one M^r Carew¹, who 'hath been in this country a long time, and stiled himselfe 'a person interressed in y^e said ships, and haveing procur- 'ation from all the y^e rest; and he hath (said he) 'letters 'of reco^mendaçôn from his Ma^{tie}, and orders of his Privie 'Councell on his behalfe; and yett I have here in my hand 'to shew, that there is now a difference between him and 'others who clame an interest therein, and who would ex- 'clude him. Now wee, many yeares agoe, made satis- 'faccôn for this businesse to Pergens; and now we are 'demanded to make it to Carew, and to others with him; 'and now others say he hath no right neither; whereby 'it apeares what little reason we have to parte wth any 'mony in this matter.' And he prayed the paper he had to shew might be read. Upon w^{ch} I was forced to reply, that I knew not what paper that gentleman had in his hand; but that if it were to y^e effect he had opened it, it would be but losse of so much time to read it, for that Carew's name had never been so much as mençoned in any paper given by mee concerning this businesse; but

¹ Sir William Temple, in a letter to his brother (Oct. 10. N. S. 1667), states, on the private information of De Witt, with respect to this business, "that Mr. Cary, who was employed to pursue it" (the suit at law) "in the name of Courten's executors, had brought it very near a composition — demanding £40,000 for all pretensions, and the Dutch offering £30,000; that he (M. De Witt), to end this affair, had appointed a meeting with Mr. Cary, who had since confessed to his friends, that he was resolved to end it "at that meeting, and rather to take the Dutch offer than let the suit run on: "but, that very morning, Sir George Downing sent for him; told him it was "a matter of state between the two nations, and not only a concern of private "men; and therefore absolutely forbid him to go on with any treaty about "it, otherwise than by his communication and consent; that he would put in "a memorial to the States upon it, and instead of £40,000, which he de- "manded, would undertake to get fourscore; and that he was sure the Dutch "would give a great deal more, rather than venture a quarrel with his Majesty." Temple's Works, i. 289. Temple makes no allusion to a circumstance of which we can hardly suppose him to have been ignorant — namely, that the right of Courten's executors to make any sort of agreement, was contested by other private claimants. — See "the True State of the Case between the East "India Comp^y of the Netherlands, and Sir W^m Courten, Sir Paull Pindar, "and their C^y, &c. &c." in this volume.

when it should come to be the question, who is the person or persons to whom this satisfacōn is to be made, there neither should be wanting a right owner nor a lawfull discharge: and so wth much adoe I stopped any farther discourse about that matter.

Then Vandam came to y^e businesse it selfe, and alledged these 2 thinges. 1. That they had already given satisfacōn many yeares agoe for this business to Pergens; and that Pergens was authorized by procuraōn from Courten, who sett out the said ships, and Courten his interest recomēded to this State by his late Ma^{tie}. 2^y. That if there were any question made concerning y^e validitie of y^e fors^d agreem^t wth Pergens, that then the persons complaining might, according to y^e 15th Article of y^e late Treatie wth this country, “litem inceptam prosecui;” w^{ch} “lis incepta” (said he) is to be understood of the “lis incepta” many yeares agoe att Amsterdam before the ordinary justice there.

In answeare to the 1st was said, that Courten had, many yeares before y^e agree^{mt} made wth Pergens, transferred all his right in the said ships to S^r Edward Littleton; and also both he and S^r Edward Littleton to Paul Pindar, for a valuable and great consideraōn: and that this was notified to y^e Direct^{rs} of y^e East Indie Comp^y at Amsterdam, by Jonas Abeels (as haveing procuracion from the said Paul Pindar), a long time beefore y^e agreem^t wth Pergens, and that notification admitted for good by the Court of Justice there; and so that they cannot pretend ignorance thereof. Moreover, that Courten was a known bankrupt long before the accord wth Pergens; and consequently, that no agreem^t att all could be made wth him, or any haveing procuraōn from him. And for the letter written by his late Ma^{tie} on Courtens behalfe, it was no more then an ordinary letter of recomēdaōn; y^e w^{ch} gives no right, nor is to bee produced in evidence, but only gives an occasion to examine a businesse, and to doe as it appears thereupon: that his present Ma^{tie} hath written them many

letters; but that they would be loth to grant that every one hath right accordinge thereunto, on whose behafe they have beene written. And, for his late Ma^{tie}, it is to be considered, that he knew well that those ships had been sett out by Courten, and therefore could not denye him a letter of reco^menda^çõ, especially being a person that had deserved so well from him; but att the time he wrote that letter, w^{ch} was in the yeare 1647, when he was at Hampton Court, had neither his Privy Councell nor Court of Admiraltie about him, by whom to be inform'd either of Courtens having passed all his interest in them to others, or of his present bankrupt condi^çõ; and so lesse weight is to be putt upon this than upon other ordinary letters of reco^menda^çõ.

In answer to the 2^d was said, that it was in debate att least a month att London before y^e finishing of y^e late Treatie, whether this matter should be ended in a politick way, or left to the ordinary course of justice;—that both his Ma^{ty} and his Comm^{rs} did declare that y^e latter would never be consented to; and the Treatie was several weeks stopped upon this single pointe. Moreover, that we had to shew, under y^e hands and seales of every one of his Ma^{ty}s Comm^{rs}, that by the wordes “lis incepta” was meant y^e “lis incepta” att y^e Hague, between his Ma^{ty}s Ministers and the Deputies of y^e Estates Geⁿãl^t, and no other. Moreover, that we had a copie of y^e Ambassad^rs letter of this Estate, which they wrote, upon y^e conclusion of y^e said Treatie, to y^e Estates Gen^l, wherein they begged their pardon that they had concluded the Treatie, upon y^e tearmes they had concluded it, not haveing been able to obtain but that y^e matter of these two ships should bee left to be ended in a politick way.

And in y^e close I added, that I had his Ma^{ty}s particular instructions, to lett them know, that he would never consent to have this matter ended in any other way; and that, haveing consented, in y^e said Treatie, to y^e blotting out of

all other private damages done ag^t his subjects in the y^e East Indies, and known at London y^e 20th of Jan. 1658, excepting only this,—that he did not expect but that they would have taken such order, as that no farther complaints should have needed to have been made to him about it.

For the ship Hopewell, they alleadged that she was bound for Cocheene¹, a place then actually besieged by them by land and sea; and therefore, that by y^e laws of naçõns they might hinder her from entring thereunto. I replied, that if it had been as they alleaged, they might have done so; but that the truth was, that y^e said ship was not going to Cocheene, but only passing along y^e coast from Suratt for Porcatt², and was mett wth by a Hollands man of warre, about 5 leagues from Cocheene, and brought thither by force: and to prove, moreover, that her desaigne was really for Porcatt, and not Cocheene, I produced and read to them a copie of the coñmission of her Coñmand^r, w^{ch} he had from y^e English President and Councell att Suratt, from whom he had his orders, and by whom he was sent and employed; y^e substance whereof was, that he was to goe directly from Suratt for Porcatt, and to deliver to two English merch^{ts} therein named in y^e said coñmission such goods as he had on board, and to receive from them a ladeing back for Suratt. I produced alsoe a copie of y^e protest of y^e Comand^r of y^e Hopewell, wherein he protests ag^t y^e Comand^r of the Dutch fleete, for haveing hindred him from going to Porcatt; and also a copie of y^e protest of y^e English President and Councell att Suratt, after y^e retourne of y^e Hopewell thither, wherein they protest ag^t y^e Dutch, for haveing hindred y^e said ship from going to Porcatt; so that nothing in the world could be more cleare then that her desaigne was for Porcatt, and not for Cocheene: and Porcatt was a place

¹ Cochin, a town on the coast of Travancore in Hindostan.

² Porcat, or Porkas, a town on the coast of Travancore, S. E. of Cochin.

belonging to the natives, and not to y^e Portuguezes, wth whom y^e Dutch were in warre, — is an open place unfortified, and no Dutch soldjers there nor thereabouts. All that they had to say in conclusion was, that this businesse hapened since y^e coming away of their last return'd ships, so that they had no account thereof, but what they had rec^d over land, w^{ch} was but imperfect; and that they had not rec^d any copies of the counterprotest given in by their ministers, and so could not so well say what they had to alledge for themselves in this action; but that they did not doubt but by their returne ships this summer to have y^e same, and to be able to give me full sattisfac^ōn. I replied, that I could not say that they had rec^d those counterprotests; but that if they had them not, it was because their ministers did not thinke them very worth y^e sending, for that they could not be so long but that they could have copied them for them in an houre or two, if they had pleased. Y^e Deputies of y^e States Geⁿāll hereupon asked me if I had any copies of them. I told them not. They desired that would I write to y^e East Indie Comp^y att London, and gett them from them, if they had them, for that they (they said) would wholly cleare this business. I told them I should write about it.

For the ship Leopard, y^e Advocate of y^e Direct^{rs} of the East India Comp^y aleadged that she came to Cocheene wth an intent to trade there also, but that, before her arrivall, they had taken that place, and so were not obliged to lett her have any trade in a place of theirs: that then she desired to goe to Porcatt, but that they would not lett her, because Porcatt (said he) did alwayes follow Cocheene; and that the y^e King of Porcatt had, upon their taking Cocheene, wholly surrendred himselfe and his country to them; and so that they might lawfully forbid any others trading there: yett that in civilitie they had offered either to send some of their own vessels from Cocheene to Porcatt, to lade what goods were there reddey for the Leopard, and to

bring them to her, or else to lett y^e Leopard her selfe goe thither, and take them in, on condiçõn that she would engage to take in y^e whole English Factory, and carry them away, and promise that y^e English should never pretend to any more trade there.

I replied, that y^e comeing of y^e Leopard to Cocheene, had it been to trade there, had been no faulte, seing she brought no contrabande goods; nor could they any way warrant, upon that account, y^e hindring her to trade elsewhere: but yett that, in truth, she did not come thither wth any intençõn to trade there; but being a ship of y^e Kings, and wearing his flagge, to prevent any misunderstanding between her and the Dutch, she was ordered to call there, and to lett y^e Coñmand^r of y^e Dutch fleete know that y^e reason of her coming att that time upon that coast was not upon any military account, but only to take in a ladeing of merchants goods at Porcatt, w^{ch} lay there redy for her: that the Hollandⁿ warre was wth y^e Portuguezes, who were possessed of the towne of Cocheene; that Porcatt neither belonged to, nor depended upon the towne, nor upon the country of Cocheene, but belonged to the King of Porcatt, who was neither a Portugueze, nor a Moore, but a Gentue, or native, and did not hold neither of y^e Portugueze nor of y^e King of Cocheene; so that their taking of Cocheene did not at all warrant their intermeddling wth us att Porcatt. Besides, grant all to be true that was aleadged, viz. that y^e King of Porcatt should have surrendred himselfe and his whole country into the hands of the Dutch, and have made them absolute lords thereof, so much y^e lesse ought they to have hindred any English ships from goeing thither, to lade and carry away y^e goods w^{ch} we had there. Y^e worst that could be, in case of absolute conquest, was in y^e first place to acquaint y^e English Factory there wth what had fallen out, and to give them a competent time for removall of themselves and goods, w^{ch} was not done; though in truth yett, for conquest,

there could not be any, there haveing not been any Dutch sodjers in that country, but after the takeing of Cocheene they marched directly to Cananoor¹, w^{ch} is quite the other way; nor for compact or agreeem^t, was any notified to the English at Porcatt. And for their first proffer of sending some of their own vessells to Porcatt, there to lade such goods as were for the Leopard, and bring them to her, I replied, that y^e Command^r of y^e Leopard had no power to employ others to fetch those goods, but was to take them in himselfe, and if he would have given such an order, to be sure y^e English Fact^{rs} at Porcatt would not have obeyed it. Suppose that y^e Dutch vessells, having on board them y^e English goods, instead of comeing wth them to Cocheene, should have carried them to Battavia; or suppose, intending back for Cocheene, they should have been cast away; who would have indempnefied y^e Command^r of the Leopard, or y^e English Factors? For y^e said proposi^{ti}on, I replied, that it was not in y^e power of y^e Command^r of y^e Leopard to make any such ingagem^t, either to remove y^e English Factory from Porcatt, or that y^e English should never pretend to trade there any more; and consequently, it was but one and the same thing to permit him to goe upon this condi^{ti}on, or absolutely to forbid him; to w^{ch} they replied not; and I did demand that sattisfac^{ti}on might be speedily made to his Ma^{ty}s subjects, in all in y^e above men^{ti}oned ships: and so our conference ended.

I am, my Lord,
Y^r L^dships most obed^t humble serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

To the Earl of Clarendon, &c. &c. &c.

¹ Cannanore, a town on the coast of Malabar, in Hindostan, N. W. of Cochin and Porcat.

CXXXI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 1st Jan. 1663¹, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LO^{pp},

SATTURDAY last (as I promised yo^r Lo^{pp}) those of Overvell did againe propose the buisiness of the y^e presents and ambassade for England, and did press that y^e States Geñālt would themselves nōtate a person—for that ambassade, seeing those of Zealand had so long neglected to doe it; and it hath wrought this effect, that y^e deputies of Zealand have undertaken that their Province shall come to a conclusion therein this next assembly, and that they will not desire any more time then y^e conclusion thereof.

Y^e person sent to y^e Count of Oostfrize wth y^e draught of the project w^{ch} this State would have him sign, is not yet returned. In y^e mean time the B^p goes on amaine in the fortifying and providing of y^e place; and it is said that he hath brought into it 9 peices of cannon more; also he hath putt the whole country round into contribution for y^e maintenance thereof, so that it costs him nothing. Moreover, it is said (but of this I have no certainty) that the B^p is already raising, or about to raise, another fort upon the frontiers of Munster towards Oostfrize, whereby y^e better to correspond therewth. But this is evident,—that the more it appears that y^e Bipp. is in good earnest, y^e cooler those of Holland shew themselves in y^e buisiness;* and now much of their discourse is, that y^e reputation of the armes of this State is not to be hazarded in such a

¹ 1664.

buisiness as this, wth much of this kinde ; and in Aprill will be come y^e time of y^e 2^d paym^t, and no doubt y^e Bipp. will desire to know where he shall have that also, before he quitt the place, wherein he will have reason ; and if I ever knew anything of this country, y^e way to be good friends wth them is to make them sensible that you will not take injuries from them and sett downe quietly thereby. And, beleeeve me, this is not a Governm^t that can hurte them that only seeke to right themselves in what they are injured by them ; and on y^e other hand, where they see they may doe injuries impuné, they will doe enough, but especially when thereby they also increase their traffick : and I finde by Cuneus's letter, that y^e ship of this country w^{ch} was carried to Jersey by him that had a Portugall coñission, is restored ; and so long as they see themselves thus treated, that they can have in all things what they demand, wthout seeing that the like be done to his Ma^{ty}s subjects here, it is in vaine for any of his subjects to think of obteining any thing here.

I am alwayes, my L^d, yo^r Lopp^s
most obedient humb. servant,

G. DOWNING.

To the Earl of Clarendon, &c. &c. &c.

CXXXII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 8th Jan. 63¹, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPPS,
THE jealousy of the French Kings falling into Flanders growes daily, and it is yett beleived that matters will not

come to extremities in Italy, and that all y^e bustle that is kept on that side is meerly to have a pretence of raising still more men; and I doe finde that those of Holland doe dayly awaken those of the other Provinces, to make them apprehensive of the danger that threateneth them, and to prepare them towards something of a league, for the defence of those countries; and D'Estrade is very senceible w^{ch} way thinges are working here: but this is certain, — that as in all other thinges the Councells of Spaine have not been very good of late yeares, there is a clause in the capitulaçõn for the marriage of the Infanta to this effect, that she shall renounce to all her right &c. as she doth, on condition that such a sum of money be paid for her dowry, att such tearmes, w^{ch} are expired, and the money not paid; and I am promised a copy of the said capitulation, it being a thing that I have not yett seen. Yesterday I pressed Mons^r Dewitt that they would hasten the extradition¹ of the list of damages, and he hath promised me that theirs shall be ready, ag^t the next assembly of the Estates of Holland.

There are no ships at present fitting out at Amsterdam for the coast of Guinie, but in the spring they intend to send two thence. The disorders in Dordrecht doe increase, in so much that there are forty Deputies come from thence hither, wth their complaintes and agreivances. This night, there is one expected here from the B^{pp} of Munster; and it is conceived, that instead of comeing to yeild Dilar Scons, he will speake of Burclo, a place belonging to y^e s^d Bi^{pp}, which this State keepes from him.

I had yesterday a very long conference wth Dewitt. I find him infinitely apprehensive of France its getting Flanders, and active in awakening all y^e Princes, to make a treaty defensive wth Spayne, for y^e mayntenance of y^m: he told me y^t he had p^rposed to Gamarrah², y^t y^e King

¹ Sic.

² Spanish Ambassador at the Hague.

of Spayne should suffer those provinces to declare y^mselves a free State, and yⁿ this State enter into confederacy wth y^m; also y^t he had proposed Spaynes yealding yⁿ to y^e Emperour in dowry, and so y^t y^e Empire should be obliged to protect y^m. I told him y^t it would be y^e better for Spayne to hazard y^e loosing of y^m, yⁿ volunterily giue y^m away, as either of those wayes did propose; besides, y^t if they were a free state, they would give y^mselves wholly to y^e minding and encouraging of trade, w^{ch} would be worse for this country; moreover, y^t y^e King of Spaine was able to do more for the defending y^m yⁿ y^e Empire or Emperour, and to give greater encouragements to y^m y^t shold take part wth him therin, by granting freedome of trade in the West-indyes and y^e like: in fine, he acknowledged y^t I was in y^e right, and y^t he would, for y^e future, presse no more those propositions, but downright y^e defense of y^m as belonging to y^e King of Spaine. He asked what his Maj^{ty} his mind was: I replied, that he might assure himself that he did by no means desire y^t y^e French King shold become master of those countryes.

Min Here Zulistein, and some other of quality heer, do affirm to mee that they were at Paris in my L^d Scudamores time, and y^t they do perfectly remember y^t he would not, nor did, yeald to Cardinall Richelieu; that he took place of all y^e Princes of y^e blood; so that heerby, and by w^t else appeares in y^e Paper Office at London, y^t this present dispute wth my L^d Hollys is a perfect innovation, and consequently not to be admitted; and when M^r Des-trade came hither, he made no formal entry, nor in like manner can it be insisted upon y^t his L^dship shall make one. I am heartily glad y^t his Royall Highnes is so well recovered, as I understand by y^e last from my L^d Cornbury; and pleas God give y^r L^dship ease and y^r wonted health. I am,

My Lord, your Lordships

Most obed. humb. serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

CXXXIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 15 Jan. 1668¹, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LO^r,

MONS^r D'ESTRADE said openly within these few dayes, in y^e presence of severall of the Estates themselves, that in case y^e King and Prince of Spaine should happen to dye before the said Prince have a child, that his M^r would forthwith enter upon, and indeav^r to seize himselfe, all y^e Spanish Netherlands; y^e w^{ch} declaration of his is not a little divulged here, and confirms their jealousies, w^{ch} are growne to a great height.

The Estates Geⁿl^l, haveing now rec^d y^e obligacōns from y^e Conte D'Emden, in such manner as was by them desired, did yesterday, after that those of Zeland were gone out of the Assembly, take a resolu^cōn for y^e providing of y^e mony due upon y^e first paym^t to y^e Bipp.², and this day y^e resump^cōn thereof is to be made: Holland pushes to its utmost y^e ending this buisnesse in a faire way, that so they may have nothing but France to eye. The Bi^{sh}ps minister, w^{ch} is expected here, is not yett arived.

Yesterday the Estates Geⁿl^l did also agree upon an answere to bee given to y^e Portugall Resident here, whereby they doe maintaine the takeing of Cocheene, and also that y^e ships of this country ought to goe freely to Brazeel, as well att other times as with y^e Portugall fleet, aleadging that they ought therein to have, in all thinges, y^e like priviledge wth y^e English.

¹ 1664.

² Bishop of Munster.

A letter is resolved to be writt by the Estates Gen^{all} to his Ma^{tie}, concerning y^e businesse some time since I gave yo^r Lopp. an account of, of the English, their in-croaching (as is pretended here) upon y^e Dutch in y^e New Netherlands; and to desire an adjusting of y^e limitts between the English and them in those parts. Dewitt also was pleased to speake to me about this business. I replied, that had I heard much of it att London, and that our people doe say that they here are y^e incroachers. It would be good, I thinke, after 3 or 4 months delay, to give them for answere, that his Ma^{tie} will write into those partes, to be informed of the truth of y^e matter of fact and right on both sides; and that answere will serve for a yeare longer, w^{ch} is their way of treating others; nor is there any way of convicting them of the unreasonableness of their manner of proceeding, but by repaying them in their own coine.

I am, my Lord,
Y^r L^dships most obed^t humb. serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

To the Earl of Clarendon, &c. &c. &c.

CXXXIV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 12 Feb. 63¹, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.,
HANNIBALL SESTED is now utterly fallen out wth them here. They had some dayes since begun to worke much upon him; but now, he saith, he seeth plainly that their

intentions were only to lulliby him with a parcell of faire wordes, and to gett rid of him, but not to give his M^r anything of real satisfaction; but on y^e contrary, more and more, to bring him into an esclavage, and to reduce him and his subjects to meere tributaries to their marchants. And being by him earnestly desired thereunto, I have, this weeke, given to y^e Estates Gen^ll y^e inclosed memoriall, for w^{ch} he hath retourned me many thankes, and saith that his M^r shall also thanke his Ma^y for y^e same. He tells me that he findes that Mons^r D'Estrade is much netled att it; for that y^e King of Denmarke had also desired y^e French King to a peace for him; and great professions have been made of doing anything that should be desired, and that they would be as ready in all thinges to assist Denmarke as well as Sweden, and as ready as y^e King my M^r. And this putts him to it, discovers their being more for Sweden (as for certaine they will alwayes be); and if he should give a Memoriall for the Danes, especially in relation to y^e buisnesse of Cabo Corço, he should offend y^e Swede, who claime it also.

In farther discourse about y^e buisnesse of branding of ships, Mons^r Sested did confess to me, that when y^e first Treaty was made between Denmarke and this country about this pointe, y^e built of y^e shipping of this country was not neere so advantagious as now it is, nor so fitt for y^e Norway and bulkey trade; but that that very priviledge of branding, and paying only according thereunto, hath begott this excellent fabrick that they now have for y^e trade. And I pray lett this be applyed to England, and without all doubt y^e same priviledg would produce y^e same effect there also; and if England were once brought to a navigation as cheap as this country, good night Amsterdam. Those of the West Indie Comp^y of this country haveing printed at Amsterdam another letter about y^e dispute of y^e English wth their people in New Netherland, I cannot but send you a copy thereof, w^{ch}

otherwise I did not intend to have done. If his Ma^y thinke fitt to leave that matter to me, I shall deale well enough wth them, and repay them in their own manner.

This weeke, Mons^r D'Estrade hath given in a Memoriall to the Estates Gen^ll, on the behalfe of the B^p of Munster, demanding y^e restitution of Berclo. Now those of Gelderland say, they will hazard all rather than they will parte wth it, it being upon their frontiers, and an exceeding strong place: and it is certaine that it is of very great concerne to this State to keepe; and besides, if that can bee torne from them, it will incourage others to hope for their own also: but yett Holland seemes to be somewhat indifferent in y^e matter, hoping thereby to force Gelder to comply wth them in y^e buisnesse of y^e new prayer, and to revoke their resolution ag^t it. And they say here, the French King interrests himselfe in y^e buisnesse of Malta, of Rynberg for the Duke of Nuberg, Burele, and every thing else wherein he can pick holes in their coats, and withall is every day secretly contriving some new device or trick, to diminish their trade and navigation: and to this, say they, is our great Treaty w^{ch} we lately made wth that Crowne already come, of w^{ch} we so much boasted. And it is certaine that D'Estrade doth, underhand, vehemently press Dewitt, and other principall persons among them, to have a categorique resolution from them, what their deportm^t will be, in case his M^y should have againe to doe in Flanders; so that their heads are full enough of thoughts.

Boreel writes that he had, att audience wth the French King, made great complaints of the vexations putt upon the navigation of this country in France; also that he hath propounded to him a jointe expedition acting ag^t y^e Turkish pirates. That to y^e latter y^e said King should reply, that he was, and ever had been, in warre wth them; and had asked whether, in case this intended jointe expedition should be agreed on, he had orders to declare that

y^e same should be held on and continued, and not left off but by mutuall and jointe consent: that he had replyd, that he had no other orders, than what he had before declared: that y^e said King should have thereupon desired him to write to his Masters, to know their resolutions on this pointe. No doubt, if France could ingage them not to make peace without their being included therein, they would be glad to joine with them.

I am, my L^d, y^r Lordshipps
most obd^t humb. serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

For my L^d Chancellor.

CXXXV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 12 Feb. 1663¹, O.S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.,

YESTERDAY I had a conference with the Dep^{ties} of the Est Gen^l, in the presence of the Directors of the West Indie Comp^y, concerning the shipps Charles and James; and it was a very full assembly, there being some of every Province; and it lasted full 3 hours, from 9 in the morning till 12. The Advocate of y^e s^d Comp^y spoke for them, and his discourse was upon two heads. First, he denyed that he had either boate or goods of either of y^e s^d shipps in their hands. Secondly, he did grant that they had hindred them from tradeing at the Port of Comenda² or Comano, and at Cabo Corço, but not at any other place;

¹ 1664.

² Commenda is on the Gold Coast, not far from Cabo Corço.

and that, as to their having hindred them from trading at those 2 places, that they did conceive that they had good reason so to do; for that as to y^e Port of Comenda, they had had a lodge there, and as to Cabo Corço, that that Fort did belong to them; and that the natives about Comenda had burnt and destroy'd their lodge there, and that the natives about Cabo Corço had taken their fort there from them: and that upon those accounts they were in warre with both, and had besieged both, and that y^e s^d places being besieged, it was lawfull for them to hinder all nations from trading there.

I replied, As to the first, that this was matter of fact, and must depend upon prooffe; and that my proofes would clearly make out, that they had not only taken, but did yet retaine in their hands, both boate and goods belonging to y^e s^d shippe; to which proofes I did referre them. To the second, I replied, that they had not only hindred y^e s^d shipps from trading at Comenda and Cabo Corço, but at other places also; yea, that the Dutch shipps did follow them from place to place, along y^e s^d coast, and still anckoring by them wherever they came to an anckor, neither suffering the boates to go on shore, nor those of the natives to come to them. And as for y^e Ports of Comenda and Cabo Corço, I had these things to say:—First, at Comenda they had never any thing but a lodge; and a lodge gives no peculiarity of trade: many nations have many times their lodges at y^e same place; and that, among other, the English had one there, and a constant and antient trade; and that because y^e Dutch had lost their lodge was no arg^{mt} why y^e English must be kept from theirs, and from their trade there. Secondly, for Cabo Corço, that others as well as this country did claim a right to it. The Danes and Swedes, each of them, say tis theirs of right; and if that were now the question, that I did beleeeve I could make out that y^e English have a better right to it than any of them, for that they were the first

Christians that ever traded there, and that they did build a house or lodge upon that very spot upon which y^e Fort now stands; but that this was not at all materiall to y^e question in hand. It was at that time in y^e hands of y^e natives, and those natives in peace with England, wth whom they had a free trade: and suppose the Spaniards or French should take any towne belonging to this country here in Europe, might not y^e English, being in peace wth y^e s^d Spaniards or French, trade wth y^e s^d place while it were in their hands? Besides, y^e country about their lodge at Comenda, and about y^e Fort at Cabo Corço, were never claimed by y^e West Indie Comp^y of this country. Their pretence was only to y^e Fort and Lodge: but y^e countries about them belonged to y^e natives, who were souveraignes depending of themselves; and therefore suppose Comenda had bin besieged, (whereas yet in truth there was nothing to besiege,) and suppose y^e Fort at Cabo Corço had bin besieged, that these sieges could onely hinder y^e English from trading wth y^e individuall places besieged, but not wth y^e countries about them, which is y^e case in hand. As, for example, the towne of Tangier belonging to his Ma^{ty}, but not y^e country about it, suppose y^e s^d place should be surprised, and that his Ma^{ty} should thereupon really besiege it; that by virtue of this siege he might, indeed, hinder all nations from trading wth the towne, but not wth y^e country about. Besides, as to Cabo Corço, the Fort which they pretend to, lyes upon one side of y^e harbour, and a Danish Fort called Fredericksburgh lyes opposite to it on the other side thereof; so, y^e Danes having one side of y^e land, y^e halfe of y^e harbour must necessarily belong to them, these being new conquests, and no prescription or other title to be produced whereby to claime the water or harbour, to belong to y^e one or y^e other; and therefore, that the Danes being in peace with y^e English, they might upon their account lawfully enter into y^e s^d harbour, make use thereof, and trade in it, though y^e

Fort of Cabo Corço had bin actually in y^e hands of y^e Dutch; and that, upon this account, though they have now the Fort of Cabo Corço, his Ma^{ties} subjects will still enter into y^e s^d harbour, and trade there upon y^e Danish account.

But setting all this aside, I further told them, that I would putt this matter upon that single point of these places being really besieged or not besieged, and that, for argument sake, I would grant that they had done well in hindring the s^d shippes from trading at Comenda and Cabo Corço, in case that they were, at that time, actually and really besieged; but that by a siege is to be understood a closse blocking up both by land and sea, and not y^e riding of a few shippes before a place, and those not constantly, but by fitts; and therefore did desire that y^e said Advocate, having laid this as y^e foundation of their actions, would speake plainly and distinctly to it.

Hereupon y^e s^d Advocate said, that he must confesse that they had not any force upon y^e land, either at Cabo Corço or Comenda, and that for their shippes that rode there, that he could not deny but that they had not rode there constantly; but (said he) tis not for any other to prescribe how, and in what manner, the Company shall proceed to retake their places; that if they thinke that the riding with a few shippes before a place, and that at certaine times onely, whereby to hinder other nations from trading with it, be a sufficient means for y^e retaking thereof, they have no reason to be at further charge or trouble; besides that, in this place, there were such Serenes¹ in y^e night, as that they would kill any that should lye abroad; and therefore that, in this case, it was to be counted sufficient, and to be called a besieging, tho y^e place were onely blockt up by sea.

¹ Heavy dew; falling at night, and causing malignant disorders in those who were exposed to them.

Hereupon I appealed to y^e Comm^{ds} of y^e Estates, and asked them whether, in their consciences, there now remained the least shaddow of a ground for what had beene done by y^e said Comp^y. It is true, that where a place is actually besieged, as afores^d, by sea and land, trade may be prohibited with such place for such time; but when it was open to y^e land, and free ingresse and egresse by land into it, that upon y^e account of y^e said shipp^s all trade might be hindred with it, I had never heard, and was yet to learne; and desired them to consider examples of their owne making, and of a fresh date. When y^e King of Sweden had lately a greate fleete before y^e towne of Dantzick, but no army by land before it, they sent their fleete and forced a trade with that towne, saying, that y^e lying of a fleete before a place was not a sufficient ground to prohibit trade therewith. Further, that y^e King of Spaine haveing lately not only a considerable number of shipp^s of warre upon y^e coast of Portugall, but also a greate army in the bowells of that kingdome, and pretending, upon that account, that no nation ought to trade with that kingdome, that y^u did returne for answer to y^e Spanish Amb^r here, within these few months, that if any particular place in Portugall were actually and really besieged by land and sea, that y^u would forbear trading with such place for such time, but that more could not be expected from you. Further, I desired them to turne y^e argument upon themselves. His Ma^{ty}'s subjects have good shipp^s and men of courage as well as they, and pretences for warre are never wanting, where there is an inclination thereunto. Now, suppose the Royall Company should take up their maxime, and where ever they finde that y^e West Indie Comp^y of this country have a considerable trade upon y^e coast of Africa, declare a warre with y^e Prince of that country, and then appoint 2 or 3 shipp^s to ride before that place, where the Dutch trade is settled; and when any Dutch shipp^s come to trade there, give

them excellent words, tell them they have strickt orders to hold all good correspondence with them (His Ma^{ty} and this State being in amity), but that, for that place, the s^d Company had warre with y^e natives thereof, and y^e s^d place was besieged by them, and therefore they could not permit them to trade there; and therefore to desire them forthwith peaceably to depart, or else they must be forced to hinder their intentions, and to continue this warre untill such time as they have compel'd y^e Gover^r of such country to a treaty or agreement with them to sell the whole product of their country to them, and not to trade with any other nation whatsoever,—a thing which y^e people of those countries would be easily forced to, if they see that they must either trade with them, or not at all. And I desired to know of their Lords^{ps} what they would thinke of such a course, and what would be y^e issue thereof if y^e English should thus proceed;—and what is lawfull for y^e Dutch to do against y^e English, is as lawfull for y^e English to do against y^e Dutch.

For what had bin sayd, that none were to prescribe to the West Indie Comp^y, what meanes they were to make use of for y^e recovery of their places, I did grant it; but unlesse they did thinke fitt actually and really to beseige a place by land and sea, that they could not expect the priviledge of an actuall and reall siege—that is to say, that other nations should forbear to trade with such places; and that never nation in y^e world ever yet pretended to debarre other people from trade, but in y^e case of such a siege. That as to what had been said of y^e Serenes, that this country was so well acquainted with y^e besieging of places, that they knew very well how to overcome much greater difficulties than that. A tent or a hutt was a sufficient safeguard against a Serene. But grant that, by reason of y^e s^d Serenes, or some other incommodities, it were impossible to besiege Cabo Corço by land, what is that to us? If it cannot be so besieged, neither then could

we be hindred of our trade with it; and that I did much wonder such frivolous arguments and allegations should be produced. And then, the Directors of y^e s^d Company and their Advocate being dismiss^t, the Dep^{ties} of the Es^{ts} desir'd that I would permit them to withdraw into an inner roome for a little while, to consider amongst themselves, and that they would returne to me againe; which accordingly they did. And having taken their seats, Dewitt, in y^e name of y^e rest, said, that they had seriously considerd what had been said on both sides; that as to y^e taking of any boate or goods, they did not yet see how y^e Company could justifie y^e same. Moreover, that if they had hindred y^e s^d shipp^s from trading at any other places, but Comenda and Cabo Corço, that they saw no ground for that neither; and that to alledge that such places were no entrées or ports ouvertes, and that y^e coasts were rocky and dangerous, or y^e like, that these were but frivolous allegations: that y^e natives, being master of their owne countries, might trade where they pleased; and if y^e English would hazard their shipp^s and men, what was that to this country? But for Comenda and Cabo Corço y^e case seemed to be much different — the West Indie Comp^y pretending a right to places there which had been violently taken from them; and that by y^e late Treaty with his Ma^{ty}, no assistance was to be given to y^e rebells of each other. Also that, by reason of y^e Serenes, it was impossible to besiege Cabo Corço by land; and therefore, that as to that place, it was deemed a compleate seige, though onely blocked up by water, and to have the priviledges thereof.

I answered, that I was very glad to heare so much confest as was by him confest, viz. that he did not justifie y^e keeping of our boates and goodes, nor y^e hindring the s^d shipp^s from trading in any other place, except Comenda and Cabo Corco: so that, as to these 2 points, I had nothing to do but to make good the fact, which I should accordingly, by depositions which I should give them very speedily,

the time being so farre spent that it would be impossible to enter upon them then. For Cabo Corço and Comenda, that were the people there their subjects, the Articles in the late Treaty concerning Rebels might be applicable to y^e case; but that they have never beene their subjects, and so could not be now termed rebels, but onely enemies; and therefore that they could not demand any thing from his Ma^{ties} subjects, but what is forbidden to be done to y^e enemies of each other; and it is not by y^e said Treaty forbidden to trade wth y^e enemies of each other, but onely not to supply them with contrabande goods, or, in case of an actuall siege as above s^d, not to trade at all with such place for such time. And for what he was pleased again to hint concerning y^e Serenes, I desired to know of him in which of his bookes he had found that exception from y^e generall rule; besides, that the consequence was very dangerous; for if at one place Serenes might be pretended, why not as well some other as valid exception at some other place? and so all trade overturned. To which he reply'd not, and so y^e conference ended.

Some of y^e s^d Dep^{ties} hapning that day to dine with me, one of them ieasting was pleased to say, "I doubt the Directors of y^e West Indie Com^y do not dine to day so merrily as wee," adding, "I perceive Pergens" (who is a principal one of them) "his countenance to change very often;" and, said he, "I must confesse there are very exorbitant and unwarrantable practices;" and [Merode] another of them said at table, "I saw to day y^e old proverb made good" [ne sutor ultra crepidam]. "Our Pensioner," said he (meaning Dewitt), "talked very much beside y^e matter, when he talked about y^e besieging of Cabo Corço, and y^e Serenes, and as if a good tent or hut were not a good shelter against such an incommodity: but tis hard maintaining a bad cause: better order must be taken."

I had forgot y^e last part of Dewitts discourse, w^{ch} was,

that they should be very glad, upon this occasion, to enter into conference with me, and to frame a Treaty for y^e regulating trade within and without Europe. I replied, that I came thither at that time, only about y^e business of y^e shippes Charles and James; moreover, that any treaty now to be made, could not opperate backwards, and so will do me no good as to this matter; that I did demand satisfaction and reparation, according to y^e treaty already made with his Ma^{ty}, and the laws and customes of nations now in practice; neither had I any order or instruction concerning any such Treaty, either at that or any other time. That for our parts, wee should be very well satisfied, so wee may but quietly injoy what is already law and right; but that if they did thinke there were need of any such further Treaty, and should make me any overtures thereupon, I should not faile to send y^e same to y^e King my master, and to do them all the good offices I could.

This Treaty Marine is that they have bin allwayes hancring at, ever since I knew this country, and upon all occasions donning me about it; and when they could do no good with me, gave orders to Newport to trye what he could do at London. But whenever his Ma^{ty} shall make any such Treaty with this country, he must take y^e motto off y^e poop of y^e Souveraigne; and not onely so, but being assured never to be visited or troubled by his Ma^{ties} shippes of warre, (which is the thing aimed at by such a Treaty,) they will certainly thereby become what they do desire to be, viz. the common carriers of y^e world; and instead of ending disputes, such a Treaty will make a million more. Being equall at sea, as then they would be, all (*Dominium maris*) being terminated in a Treaty, they would never cease till they were absolute masters, continually stretching and wresting y^e words and clauses thereof, construing them to their owne advantage, yea, in that case, breaking them downe right, yet still thundring and exclaiming against his Ma^{ty} upon all occasions, let him keepe to it

never so exactly, as I could shew you they do with France and Spaine, with whom they have such Treaties. But my letter would become a volume; yet I must add that, in y^e close of y^e conference, I desired that they would seriously consider what answer they gave me in this case; for as, y^e French King having laid 50 sols p^r tunne upon our shipps coming into his ports, the like is layd upon his coming into ours, and not upon those of any other nation, so, whatever rule they shall please to set downe in this matter, they must assure themselves that y^e Royall Comp^y, and all other his Ma^{ty}s subjects would take it up.

I am, my L^d, y^r L^dsps most obed^t humb. serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

CXXXVI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 18 Feb. 63¹, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r Lo^{rp},

THE Estates of Zeland have sent a long deduction of y^e buisiness of his Royall Highness, wherein they endeav^r to excuse and mince the matter, and that nothing was done out of malice, and would seeme to hinte as a fav^r, that, for the future, no more of those libells should be pressed up, in expectation that the mony should be paid; and that Cuneus should be writt to, to sollicite his Royall Highnesse therein, — an excellent requitall for so ill a cariage. The Estates Gen^{all} comitted the matter to some Deputies, and a report is to be made thereof this day, and given to me. No longer agoe than the day before yesterday, I caused another of those papers to be taken downe from a place

neer one of the entries into the Court, in this towne; and yesterday sent to Dewitt to complaine thereof, and sent him the paper itselfe, to w^{ch} was y^e name of a Procureur of this towne; and desired earnestly that he would be pleased to move the matter to the Comittee de Reede (to whom it properly belonged), and to take care that y^e said Procureur should be forthwth sent for and putt into prison, being a person that by his profession could not pretend ignorance, and this being done att this place in y^e sight of all y^e world.

This morning I sent to Dewitt to know what was to be done ag^t y^e Procureur above menconed. He replied, that he had moved y^e matter in y^e Comittee de Reade; that they had thereupon sent for him and rebuked him, but did not thinke fitt to putt him in prison: whereupon I have since given in the inclosed Memoriall to y^e Estates Gēra^{ft}, demanding positively that he be putt in prison, this being the Resident of the Estates, and of all publicke ministers, and where there are so many strange Princes and persons of quallity of all nations, and the paper haveing continued on now so long after complainte made, and the person that did it a Procureur, and so knowing in the lawes; and therefore I thinke him fitt to be made an example, and I hope his Ma^{tie} and his Royall Highness will approve of what I have done therein. And I have the rather done it, because, as you see by the enclosed, they make so slight of the matter in Zeland: but as to paper protests, those are march^u ¹ revenges, and are no satisfaction, nor a fitting way for any that weares a sword, much less for Princes. In my humble opinion, there should be this farther done, viz. that by the retourne of this post I might without faile (seeing how slight they of Zeland make of the matter) receive a letter from his Ma^{tie} to y^e Estates Gēra^{ft}, complaining, in serious tearmes, of this affront and abuse done to his brother, and in him to himselfe, that he had thus long forborne troubling them about it, hoping there would be no need thereof, but

¹ merchants'.

that, upon y^e complainte made by his Minister, in his name and by his order, he should ere this have had an account of their zeale in the exemplary punishing of y^e offend^{rs}, who had caused that libell to be posted up; but hearing nothing thereof, he cannot but lett them know the resentment^t that he hath of this indignitie and scandal putt upon his brother and himselfe, and, in fine, demanding that they may be punished according to their demeritt. Now as to what punishment I should, persuant thereunto, insist upon, I doe humbly thinke that his Royall Highnesse cannot goe less then to have the principal authors of the buisiness in Zeland, and this Procureur here att the Hague, putt in prison, and there to lye till his Highness should, by me, declare his satisfaction, and desire their releasement.

As for Pola-Roone, by y^e Dutch letters, neither the orders of the Estates Geⁿā^lt, nor those of the East Indie Comp^{ie}, were arrived, and so nothing can be as yett said whether Pola-Roone will or will not be delivered. Since the giving my Memoriall to the Estates Geⁿā^lt this morning, those of Holland have caused the Procureur above men^coned to come to me; and he hath accordingly been at my house, to aske me pardon for posting up y^e paper ag^t y^e Duke of Yorke. But I refused to see him; letting him know that that offence was against his Royall Highness, and therefore that I could not medle, without his knowledge and approbation; w^{ch} I said, for the offence is publick, and what is his recantation and acknowledgm^t to me in private, unless he be putt in prison by publick authority, that so y^e punishm^t in publick may declare the offence? But I must add, that he acknowledged to one of my servants, that it is but 4 days since he had rec^d orders from Zeland to post up this paper; so that this must be since y^e paper of the Co^mittee de Ruede in Zeland to y^e Estates Geⁿā^lt, wherein they promise no more shall be affixed.

I am, my L^d,

Yo^r L^dships most obed^t humb. serv^t,

G. DOWNING.

To the Earle of Clarendon, &c.

CXXXVII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 26 Feb. 63¹, O. S.

THIS easterly wind, w^{ch} is so good for Sir John Lawson, hindreth De Ruther, that his ship cannot get over the Pam-
pus, whereby to fall downe to y^e Texell, there to take in
her guns and provisions, for that it hath blowne the waters
within the harbours so lowe, that, by no meanes, they can
gett her or y^e other shippes of warre over it, so that they
must expect a westerly wind whereby to bring in y^e waters
again from y^e sea—a strange inconvenience that that towne
is alwayes subject unto, not only that great ships must fall
downe to y^e Texell in a manner empty, but, when a wind
is easterly (w^{ch} is the only wind wth w^{ch} they can goe to
sea), that then no tide riseth high enough to carry them
over that sand.

They say that y^e French King will now disband 70
troopes of horse, and 300 comp^{ies} of foote; and we have
daily an account that he gives himselfe mightily to make
France great in shipping, and, upon that account, we
still heare every weeke of new tricks putt upon the
shipping of this country, about the 50 sols ʒ tonne,
whereby to beate downe their navigation; and Boreel
writes this weeke, that the French King is about establish-
ing a Comp^{ie} in France for the East Indie trade, and that
he will, for his owne parte, putt in two millions of livers,
and severall great ones considerable su^ms for the making
up a stock for it.

I am, my Lord,
Y^r Lo^{ps} most obed^t hum. ser^t,

G. DOWNING.

To the Earle of Clarendon, &c. &c. &c.

¹ 1664.

CXXXVIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 18 Mar. 63¹, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO LO ,

HAVING bin (as I wrote in my last) desired by Mons^r De Witt to agree to have a conference with the Deputies of the States of Holland in particular, concerning the matters about w^{ch} I was more in dispute with the East and West India Companies of this country; for that (said he), although I have given an accompt, as well as I could, of what passed concerning them, in the conference held with the Deputies of the States Gr^{at}, yet that he knew that it would be more convincing and satisfactory, if they saw me and the Directors face to face, and heard the matters argued at large before themselves. Yesterday, accordingly, I had a conference with them concerning the ships Hopewell and Leopard, there being also present the Directors of the E. Ind. Comp^y with their Advocate; and it was such a conference as I have not before heard of; for that was in the place where the States of Holland doe assemble, and the whole Estates en corps were present, both the nobles and all the townes, and it continued from half past 5 in the afternoone, till half past nyne at night; whereby you may see what an influence this E. Ind. Comp^y hath. Mons^r De Witt, and the Advocate of the E. Ind. Comp^y spoke for them; and myselfe for the E. Ind. Comp^y at London.

I shall not trouble you with a long narrative of all that passed, for that it was for the most part a repetiçõn (though

more at large) of what had bin said concerning these ships in the conference with the Deputies of the States G^rat^t, of w^{ch} yo^r Lopp. then had an accompt: only, in short, as to the Hopewell, they said that it was designed for Couchin, and that Couchin was at that time beseiged at sea and land, and therefore that they might justly hinder her from trading there. I replied, that she was not designed for Couchin, nor co^ming thither, but on her way directly along the coast for Porcatt, for w^{ch} she was consigned, and where no force of theirs were, but stopped by two ships of the E. Ind. Comp^y of this country, and brought by force to Couchin. And for the making good that she was consigned to Porcatt, I produced not only a copie of the Co^mission of James Snow, Co^mand^r of her, and of the Protest he made upon his being hindred to pursue his voyage, and of the English President and Councell at Suratt after her returne thither (all w^{ch} I had also produced at the conference with y^e Deputyes of the States G^rat^t), but (w^{ch} I had gotten since) produced also a copie of Heustuert (who was Co^mand^r of the Dutch before Couchin) his l^re, wherein he acknowledgeth under his hand the receipt of the foremen^coned Protest, and that he had hindred the s^d Hopewell from going to Porcatt. Whereupon both the Advocate of the East India Comp^y and Mons^r De Witt replied, that if that paper were true, they must yeild the cause; but the Advocate pressed earnestly y^t they had not yet rec^d their full informa^con concerning this matter, and therefore they did desire that noe finall conclusion might be taken concerning the same untill the arrivall of their next returne ships.

I answered, that this busines concerning the Hopewell was in the month of Oct. 1662, — that by their owne confession they had had l^res since that time, once from Cochⁱn by the Leopard, and twice from Suratt, (the last of w^{ch} l^rs from Suratt were dated many monthes after this had happened, and did also, by their owne confessions, make men^con thereof,) and that all the papers that had passed, pro and con,

concerning this matter, would not fill a sheet of paper,—and that it was but 15 dayes voyage from Porcatt to Suratt,—and with what reason then could they demand further time upon that accompt? and that, for the further verifying of that copy of Heustaert's Irē to be authenticq, I was ready to give them the oaths of the Cap^t and other officers of the Hopewell.

For the Leopard, they did acknowledge that she was designed for Porcatt, but that then Couchin was taken, and the Radia of Porcatt had submitted himselfe and his country, by Treaty, to their obedience; and therefore, that they might justly then hinder the Leopard, or any other English ships, from going to Porcatt. That they had proffered the Comand^r of the Leopard to fetch such goods for him as were at Porcatt; and that this was a civility, and more than they needed to have done. Moreover, that they were informed by their Irēs, that there was, at that time, noe pepper or other goods ready at Porcatt for the Leopard; for that, upon the surrender of Couchin, the people of Porcatt had all fled into the country, and taken away their goods with them, for feare least the force of this Comp^y should have turned that way; and that, if the Leopard should have stayed there till goods had bin gotten out of the country, that she would not have bin able to have returned for Europe that yeare.

I answered, that if it were materiall to the question, I could make out that there was noe such submission of the Radia to them, as thereupon they could ground the hindring of our future trade there. But that, this being nothing materiall to the busines of the Leopard, I should, as to this matter, graunt whatever they did affirme of this nature, yea, (if they pleased) that the said Radia had absolutely given them his whole country, and outed himself of all; and that yett this could signify nothing, as to the hindring the Leopard to goe at that time to Porcatt; for the English had at that time a settled Factory at Porcatt, in

pursuance of a Treaty with the s^d Radia: that if the s^d Radia had not surrendred his country, but only made some Treaty with them, and that by that Treaty (take it att the worst) he should have obliged himselfe not to permitt the English to trade any longer there; yet, that he remayning still Prince, the notification thereof must have come from him, and a competent time at least given for their removall with their effects. That if he had absolutely given them his country, that the like notification must have bin made by them of the E. Ind. Comp^y of this country, and the like time for removall; and that this was not a matter of civility, as they would alleadge, but of right; for that theyr conquest (or call it what they would) was not over the English and their goods, but over the people of the country. The English were friends to both; and so, if Porcatt belonged to the Radia, the English and their goods were free; and if it belonged to the Dutch, the like. Suppose, said I, the King of Spayne should take Lisbon; should the English and the Dutch, who are friends to both, lose their liberty or estates? Withall, that they might consider that, at the time of the beseiging of Couchin, his Ma^{ty} had a considerable fleete in the East Indies, under the coñmand of the Earle of Malborough, and that he was sollicitied by the Portugueses to have intermedled in that busines, but refused it, saying that his Ma^{ty} was a neuter, and in friendship with both. But if this maxime were true, that it were matter of friendship, and not of right, to lett a coñmon friend have his owne in case of the taking of a place, that then there were noe such thing in nature as a neuter, but that, ipso facto, every one that had any thing in a place or country attacqued, were a party. And I told them that, however they of the E. Ind. Comp. were pleased at this time to make such an allegaçõn as this, because it served their present turne, and made for them, yet that I was very sure that the Estates, considering how their subjects with their Factories were in all kingdomes and countries, and of how

dangerous a consequence, if asserted, it would be to them, would be very farre from the owning thereof; and, in fine, I quite beate them from this pretext. And the Advocate did acknowledge, that though Porcatt should have bin as much theirs as Couchin, that yet our goods did of right, and not of civility or courtesy only, belong unto us.

But then, said he, though the right of them belonged to you, yet it was in our power to say how, and in what ship, you should carry them away. To which I replyed, that to say they were ours, and yet that we might not dispose of them, was all one as to say they were not ours. That they must consider that the Coñmand^r of the Leopard, and the Factors at Porcatt, were both under the coñmand of the President and Councell at Suratt; and the President and Councell at Suratt not their owne Masters, but under the coñmand of the Comp^y at London. That the Coñmand^r of the Leopard, and the Factors at Porcatt, were ordered by the President and Councell at Suratt, in pursuance of the orders that they had from the Company at London, to putt and take on board the Leopard such goods as were then at Porcatt; and therefore it was not in the power of the Coñmander of the Leopard to consent to the lading them upon any Hollands ship to be brought to them, nor in the power of the Factors to putt them on board any such ship. And what assurance could they have that such Holland ship should not have carryed them to Batavia, instead of bringing them to the Leopard? Or suppose such ship had bin cast away; who should have secured them from their masters at London? And it is not in the E. Indies as it is in these parts of Europe, where new orders, or other shipping, may be had every weeke or ten dayes. A disappointment or hinderance there, is a losse of a yeare or two. So that to say the goods were not ours, or to hinder our ships from taking them away, was the same thing, and the one as justifiable as the other.

Afterwards I added, that, though, for shortning the dis-

pute, I had graunted whatever they had alleadged of the Radia of Porcatt his having submitted himself to them, yet, if that were the question, if y^e East India Comp^y pleased to have recourse to their last advice from Suratt, they would find that he was, at that very time, in open defiance with them. Moreover, that the Leopard her arrivall at Couchin, was but very few dayes after the surrender thereof; that none of their forces had gone from thence to Porcatt, but all forthwith the contrary way to Cananore; nor any notice any way given to the English at Porcatt, of any accord or agreem^t made by them with the Radia thereof, much lesse any notification given them to withdraw themselves, and time prefixed for the doing thereof; w^{ch} must have bin done. Suppose the worst that can be supposed, and if it had bin done, so much the less excuseable was the hindring of the Leopard to goe thither, in order to the taking away of what they had there. And for what they had alleadged, that there was at that time noe pepper or other goodes at Porcatt for the Leopard, I answered, what was that to them? that this might be a proposi^con to be alleadged, if the question were about the value of the damage sustained by the hindring of her, but that it was of no weight as to the justifying of the action. Besides, that, though possibly the people of Porcatt might, upon the first apprehension, have carryed away their goods, yet that seeing their forced march a quite contrary way, as they did i^mmediately after, and upon the arrivall of an English ship, the goods would have bin there quickly againe. And, in the close, I appealed to the Com^r whether there remayned the least shadow of a pretext, for what had bin done to the s^d ship, in defeating her voyage. And De Witt thereupon pressed the Advocate very hard to know if he could say noe more in justification of what they had done. Whereupon the s^d Advocate, seeing how he was gravel'd and quite aground, desired to have time concerning that ship also, for that (said he) possibly, by

our returne ships, we may have some further informaçon concerning it also. To w^{ch} I replyed, that the s^d Advocate had, in the beginning of the conference, declared severall times, that though as to the Hopewell they desired more time, yet as to this ship they were fully informed by the l^res they had already receaved, and therefore, that he should now desire more time as to this also, that this, I must confesse, I did not at all understand. In conclusion I added, that wheras a preposiçon had bin made to me, in the last conference with the Deputyes of the States Gräff, concerning a reglement for the avoiding of such disputes for the future, I declared that I was very ready to employ my endeav^r therein, and to that end to receave and debate such imposiçons as should be made for the better ordning the affaires of the two Companyes. And both De Witt and the s^d Advocate said, that they also were very desirous thereof. I told them, that if this were done, it would be a great profit to both, and that their actions would be worth yet one 50 more ƥ cent; and so the conference ended.

I am, my Lo^d,
Yo^r Lo^{ps} obed^t and most humble serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

To the Earle of Clarendon, &c. &c. &c.

CXXXIX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 18 Mar. 63¹, O. S.

THE business of a league defensive of the Spanish Netherlands lyes att present as if it were asleepe, their imediate

apprehensions being a little abated by the French Kinges disbanding so many of his troopes.

I have had much discourse wth De Witt about y^e buisness of Algiers. He said he would endeavour so to dispose matters in y^e States of Holland, as that a resolution might be taken by them to invite his Ma^{tie} to joine wth them to this effect, that each should be obliged to procure and maintaine y^e observance of y^e respective Treaties each had wth those barbarians. I told him that I thought it was very good that something should be added of haveing satisfaction for what is past, for that else they would be too much encouraged to breake againe; and I did press him hard upon this point, because I knew their present secrett intention was to quitt it, w^{ch} would be a meanes to facilitate their desaigne of peace, and so a disadvantage to his Ma^{tie}; and he said he would trye what he could doe in it. But then he asked whet they should doe as to France, for that y^e French King pressed them very much to be included. I replied, that in fact y^e case was much different; for that his Ma^{tie} and this State had already a Treaty, and so they did but demand y^e observing of what they had; but that y^e French King had none; but yett that I had no order concerning this matter, nor did know any thing of his Ma^{ty} minde therein, and so could say nothing to it.

Here hath been, and is, a whispring, as if there should be some underhand private transaction on foote, as from y^e East Indie Comp^y here, and the hopes of prevailing in it, to have the English East Indie Comp^y quitt all their pretence to Pola-Roone, for a sum of mony, and a yearly recognition of spice for his Ma^{ty} family, and something of y^t nature; but God forbid any such thing should take effect. I know they would give any sugerd wordes, and more, to have y^t place, and they have reason therein. They begin now to take y^e allarme att y^e great talkes in England of warres wth this country, especially because of the Parliam^{ts} now comeing to sitt, and that complaints will

be there made ag^t them; and truly it is but needfull that they be quickned a little, for they regard not wordes alone. But I doe assure you, if they see his Ma^{ty} goe about in earnest anything that lookes like a resolution of falling upon them, he may have reason done him here for his subjects; for however they talke bigge, as if they feared nobody, yett at bottome they are sencible what a buisness it would be for them to grapple wth his Ma^{tie}; and it is high time that they doe end those differences w^{ch} are depending here, nor was ever a fitter opportunity to obtaine y^e same.

Cuneus makes mention in his, herein inclosed, y^t some ships of Venice, meeting an English ship bound for Smirna, should have taken out of her a considerable parcell of lead, steele, and other contraband goods. I hope his Ma^{tie} will not suffer such a practise from them, but maintaine free ship, free goods, else it will be a great wound to his navigation in those partes. There are severall letters come this weeke to particular people here from London, that some of our ships upon y^e coast of Guinie should have very meanly declined y^e Dutch ships there.

There dyed this last weeke of all diseases at Amsterdam 223, w^{ch} is 17 more then y^e weeke before. It is hoped that this weeke there will not be so many.

Y^e very noise of y^e conference w^{ch} I was to have this weeke, and had, concerning y^e East Indie Comp^y, and the rumours of a warre like to be upon y^e matters now in difference, have already made the East Indie actions fall this weeke from 498 to 481; and moreover much discourse in y^e Admiralty, and doubting whether it be not loss to keep De Ruither and his fleete here, till they see a little farther how matters are like to goe — there being also a rumour among them, as if his Ma^{tie} were about ordring y^e equipping of a great fleete in all haste. I doe wonder very much that y^e Trienteene is kept upon all ships comeing out of y^e Maze, and not upon such as come out of Zeland; and I doe assure yo^r Lopp. that it doth provoke them of Rotterdam and

thereabouts: for, say they, it is a constant trade to send y^e goods of Amsterdam for Zeland, and so for England; and its but one night more to Zeland then to Rotterdam: and I am sure that those of Zeland are in all thinges much more stubborne and refractory to his Ma^{ty} then those of Rotterdam, and particularly in y^e buisiness of the *D. of Yorke*; and upon that acc^t I should humbly offer, *that the King made an order that no ship of Zeland should unlade till further order*: this would be a thing of *noe danger*, but of excellent effect, both as to *Holland and Zealand*. So praying for yo^r perfect recovery,

I am, my Lord,
Yo^r Lopp. most obed. hum. serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

To the Earle of Clarendon.



CXL.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 25 March, 64, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R LO^{PP},
TUESDAY last Mons^r D'Estrade had audience in the Estates Gen^l upon the business of Malta, in which he exceedingly pressed y^e same, and that he might have an answer; for that hitherto, notwithstanding all his Memorials, and letters from his Master, he hath not so much as had one word of answere, nor notwithstanding this audience, (w^{ch} is the highest that can be done next to coming to blowes,) and that, as he had said, he demanded by express order: yett I doe not see he is like to obtain any thing therein, those of Utricht still declaring they will

neither restore any of those lands, nor give a doit by way of satisfaction or recompence for them. On the other hand, this week againe fresh and strong complaints from the Dutch merchants in France, of new and intolerable oppressions putt upon them in y^e business of the Vat Gelt.

Those who were sent to Oostfrize are returned. The Estates of that country have consented to y^e furnishing of money towards the 2d paym^t that y^e Biſp of Munster is to have; yett y^e Biſps Minister here saith he hath no order, but that he will goe to Munster, where y^e Biſp is now expected, to know his minde. But they begin to speake very big here, and that they will offer these two payments, — and that unless the Biſp will content himselfe therewith, and quitt the place, that they will force him out of it, — but, for y^e rest of his paym^t, that positively they will not beare thereof, but that he may seeke his redresse for the same in an ordinary way of justice. Thus much Dewitt hath declared peremptorily this weeke.

For the buisiness of his Royall Highness, I have at last brought it to this pass. Tuesday last, a sentence was pronounced in y^e Court of Holland, by w^{ch} the Procureur of the Hague was suspended his charge of Procureur to the High Court for the space of 3 monthes, and that he should come to me to acknowledge his fault; and one of y^e papers that had been affixed, the w^{ch} I sent to the said Court, that it should be torn in the face of the Court, and that a placart be published and affixed in all places, denying the same — y^e w^{ch} is accordingly since done, a copy whereof is herein inclosed. Also, y^e same day, the Procureur came to me wth the Fiscall of the Court to make his submission; but the night before, the Fiscall had been wth me, in the name of the Court, to lett me know what they intended to doe, and did assure me that he should be also putt in prison, that so he might owe his liberty to his Ma^{ty} and the Duke whom he had so highly offended; and comeing the next day without that parte, I told him, that as to

what was done in decrying the paper affixed, that it was such as was satisfactory; but that in regard that only one person should be made an example, instead of the many that had offended, I could not, according to my orders, look upon the punishm^t inflicted upon him as paralell to the offence, and therefore must be excused if, as to that part, I could not declare myselfe satisfied; and so dismissed him.

Here is a talke as if they would build a great many more new ships, w^{ch} ariseth from the account they have from their Consulls about y^e Streights, that y^e ships that Trump hath there, are not quick enough in sailing to ketch the Turks; and therefore there is a proposition before the Admiralls, that each Admiralty should build 4 or 5, more or less, according to their proportions, of light and nimble frigotts of about 30 guns each, to send ag^t y^e Turkes, in case that, upon De Ruthers coming thither, he make not a good end wth them. And when De Ruther shall be come into the Streights, Trump is to return wth his ships, and to convoy home such merchaunds ships as are to come to this country. But De Ruther his fleete is not yett got over the Flauke for want of water — there having been a want of water, att y^e height of y^e last Spring tides, to carry him over, by reason of the Easterly winds — so that he must now stay till y^e next Spring tides, so that S^t John Lawson is like to have time enough to end his business off or on. But, say they, we are not so very carefull or solicitous as to that buisiness; for if it takes not, good convoy will secure our merchandmen, and if it doe take, we shall not trust it, but continue y^e same convoy. And, say they, if it should fall out that you should have peace wth them, and we not, it is true it would be some disadvantage to us, but not very much; for that men will rather trust their goods in our ships wth a good convoy, than in y^r under paper protection wth faithless Infidells. And certainly his Ma^{tie} cannot think that his subjects shall

ever doe good in that trade, but that y^e Dutch will, by little and little, eate them quite out of it, unless he will be pleased to give regular and good convoy, as they here doe. The States of Holland have approved of Vangoh for the Ambassade for England: else they have done little; and so, being forced to returne home y^e end of this next weeke, in regard of Easter, they intend to be here again about the beginning of May. There dyed this last weeke att Amsterdam of all diseases 239.

I herein inclosed send your Lopp. the resolution of Zealand concerning y^e buisiness of his Royall Highness, upon w^{ch} I shall expect what it will please his Ma^{tie} to doe; for there is no more place for wordes: *but if the King forbid any ships of Zealand to unlade till farther order, this will make them bethink themselves, and make it be seeme that the King values his honour.*

I am, my Lord,
Y^r Lo^dpps most obed^t humb. serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

CXLI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, the 18th of Apr. 64.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r Lo^{pp},
MONS^r FRIQUETT hath, this weeke, given in a high Memoriall, in justification and defence of what had been done by y^e Bipp. of Munster, in y^e business of Eilarscons, and demanding Com^{rs} to treat with about it. Mons^r Destrade hath also, this weeke, given in a very sharp and threatening

Memoriall ¹ concerning y^e business of Malta, letting them know that his Master tooke their manner of proceeding as an absolute deniall of justice. Since that, a report hath been made in y^e Estates Geñr^l by y^e Commⁿ to whom that business was referred, of the state thereof. The Estates Geñr^l have resolved, that in regard y^e Biṽp would not appointe Commⁿ to treat wth theirs, when they were in Oostfrize, that they will not appoint any Commⁿ here, about that matter, untill the Biṽp shall have sent hither himselfe and demand it of them, and that they will not give any answer att all to the Memoriall of Mons^r Friquett. There dyed this last weeke at Amsterdam 241.

The contrary wind hinders yett De Ruthers putting to sea; but there are Coñmittee of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, and the Sec^y of the said Admiralty, are now with the fleete, to hasten them out. Reports there have been enough of this fleete its being to be employed neere home; but that is ridiculous. What can 12 ships signifie ag^t his Ma^{tie}? And moreover, I assure you, those that govern here have neither designe nor desire to fall out with wth his Ma^{tie}. On the contrary, it is the thing in the world they dread y^e most. They are not over fast in their seats without it, in y^e condition they are, and an infinite debt upon them — att variance with other Provinces — and, for certaine, not a doit to be expected from 5 of the 7 Provinces, to any such end; and even in Holland, every towne almost jealous of the other, and nothing more easy then by complying with one to draw them from the other: nor, indeed, is there any towne but Amsterdam that makes any bussle, and yett, at their heartes, none more fearfull then they of a breach; for that they have y^e most to loose, and impossible for them to gett any thing thereby. And, besides, I may tell you, that by reason of the vast expences, that

¹ This written remonstrance, which was presented on April 1., may be found in the "*Mémoires de D'Estrades*," vol. ii. p. 330. ed. of 1719.

have been of late, and are now made there, in y^e Stad^t house, and new fortifications, and buying in all the ground within them to build upon, that if a breach should come, for certaine, all that mony were lost, for that none would buy a foot of that ground to build upon; wth is y^e only meanes, in their view, whereby to reimburse themselves those infinite sums that they have expended, and without wth, if men should call for their monyes out of y^e Banke, it would be low water quickly wth them. But what they can doe wth tricks and devices underhand, and great bravadoes, and high words, this is their game, but if these will not doe, and that they see that his Ma^{tie} and y^e Parliam^t are in earnest, and that they must either live as good neighbours or expect to be treated as enemies, and give satisfaction quietly or have it taken from them forcibly, they will yeild and knock under board, his Ma^{tie} will gain great hon^r, his subjects reliefe, trade thereby encouraged and increased, and the fruite thereof be found in the Customes and every mans private revenews.

I knew the Estates of Holland, att their last meeting, were of this mind, and so left it that matters should be accomodated in the best manner they could, and not one of them of a minde to breake wth his Ma^{tie} about them, but yett still put the best face upon it, and to shift them off if possible. And I am sure it is our own fault if matters be not brought to that issue they ought to be; but as long as ever Dewitt sees a possibility of sailing between Scylla and Charibdis—a breach on the one hand, and giving satisfaction on the other—he will eternally shuffle and cut capers with me. I know him, and the length of his foote, as I doe my own. They begin to be nettled at this business of y^e Co^mmittee appointed by the House of Co^mmons, and y^e examinations made by them concerning y^e obstructions upon our foreigne trade; but to my knowledge (for I have seen some of them) they have letters from persons of quality, that what is done in this business is

only putt on by the merch^{ts}, and some hott spurrs that are influenced by them: but that they may assure themselves that his Ma^{tie} and the principal Ministers att Court, and the sober party in the parliam^t, and, by name, y^e Bipp^s, are utterly averse to any breach wth them, and that they may build there upon: and so long as they have this beleife, lett his Ma^{tie} write a thousand letters, nothing shall follow thereupon; but when they come to beleive that these are storyes, and that his Ma^{tie} and the Parliam^t are in earnest, I am as sure he will have reason done him, as ever I was that they would grant and appointe Comm^{rs}, and that their Ambassad^{rs} would not come away upon that pointe, notwithstanding all their orders for their returne — and surer too — but not till then.

CXLII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 22 Ap^r, 1664, O. S.

TRUMP is come home, according to the orders w^{ch} he had from the Admiralties, supposing that by the same time De Ruther would have gotten to the Streights: but he hath been hindred by the contrary winds. Now the wind is good, but they know not well what to thinke, or doe with him, by reason y^e allarms increase so every day from England, w^{ch} also still keeps downe y^e East Indie actions. Yett there is nothing of any farther equipage, or anything of that nature, nor have they that govern any manner of minde to fall out wth his Ma^{tie}.

The resolution of Holland is as I wrote this day fortnight; but yett, if they could saile between Scylla and

Charibdis, so as not to fall into a warre, and yett to putt you off wth wordes, instead of reall satisfaction for y^e injuries they have done, this is that they would be att, and doe endeav^r.

There dyed this last weeke at Amsterdam 278; and I am informed yesterday by a merchant of that place, that y^e plague is gott into severall principall streets and quarters of y^e towne. The Harlom Gazett hath it this weeke, that those of Algiers have brought in 60 English ships since the late breach; letters from Italy speak of 19 English ships taken by them, and 7 Dutch shippes att severall times.

There are 3 English ships from Virginia arrived this weeke att Rotterdam, the w^{ch} had att first cleered in England; and the Act that tooke place the 25th of March last, that ships outward bound for his Ma^{ty}s Plantations must alsoe goe from England, doth very much trouble them here; for that it breakes all the Jewes correspondancy att Barbadoes and elsewhere, and hinders them of y^e sale of vast quantities of the manufactures of the country; for that it will not quitt cost to send them first to England, and pay Customes there, and there to ship them againe for his Ma^{ty}s Plantations; but instead thereof, the English manufactures are, and will be, new rented, w^{ch} also will be felt in his Ma^{ty}s Customes.

The French King hath bought 4 great ships att Amsterdam, that will be able to carry 30 and 36 canons; it is said also y^t he goes on apace with the sending a fleete of 6 or 8 saile for Madagascar, to settle a colony there, w^{ch} is a thing of no small importance, not only upon y^e account of the considerableness of that island, but because of its situation being in the very way to and from y^e East Indies, and so a fitt place to pirate in. Mons^r Dewitt hath been with me a great part of this afternoon, though the Assembly of Holland be sitting. He gave me an account of the resolution of Zeland concerning the business of his

Royall Highness. I told him y^e resolution was good, but that the execution thereof might be expected. He said he would do his endeav^r that y^t might follow; in the mean time, that they would write to his Ma^{tie} a civill letter about the order. I told him, that when it was knowne to his Ma^{tie} that satisfaction was given by the officers of justice, in pursuance of this resolution of the Estates of Zeland, that I made no doubt but that the order would be taken off, but till then it could not be expected, nor is it fitting, for that, for ought I know, we may then be forced to impose it againe. But this I should humbly offer,—that, by y^e return of this post, I may have order to declare it shall be taken off, when I think fitting. But when I shall know y^t satisfaction is given in Zeland, conforme to the resolution inclosed, but withall when that is done to continue the Tranteen upon the townes of y^e Maze, &c., yett to lett the ships of Zeland be wholly free, without imposing the like upon them—this, I confesse, I doe not understand. I spoke with a merch^t who came about a fortnight since from Flussing, who told me that he then saw about 100 packs of goods lying upon the Keye there, w^{ch} were newly come from Amsterdam to be shipped for London, and that all Amsterdam goods were then shipped for England by the way of Zeland.

Mons^r Dewitt also told me that this next weeke I should begin to enter into conference with those of the East and West Indy Comp^{ies}, and that they were all ready come to this towne for y^t effect. He told me also that they did expect Brabeck here this weeke from the Bipp. of Munster, but of y^t he hath no assurance; on the other hand, that there was a report that the Bipp^r, seeing that they were resolved to attacque it, would of himselfe demolish y^e place; but for his parte he knew not what to beleive in this case. Your Lordship sees by this of Zeland, how this country is to be dealt withall; that words alone will do nothing; but that after having sayd what is reason to them,

that if they see his Majesty will not sitt down without reason done him, that he may have it: and if his Maj^{ty} please to direct matters in the House of Commons, as that a resolution be there taken to desire his Majesty to take care for righting his subjects for past injuryes, and the protecting the trade and navigation of England for the future, this will be a good groundwork for me here; but if they see the House of Commons flagge, nothing is to be expected. Already the common people here begin to cry out, What! must we have a warre for the East Indy and West Indy Companies? we will rather pull them by the eares. I had none from your Lordship this post, but had one from my L^d Cornbury.

I am, my Lord, your Lord^{ps}
Most obed. humb. serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

I thank God with all my heart for your Lordships good recovery. God continue it!

CXLIII.

GENERAL LAMBERT to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY LORD,

A FEW dayes since I tooke y^e freedome, to beseech my Lord Hatton¹, to prisent to y^r Lo^p y^e great obligations I owe unto you. And although I doubt not his Lo^p hath done it in moore advantageous manner then I can performe it, yet I could not rest satisfied, untill I had confirmed it wth that hande w^{ch} is best acquainted with my secret

¹ Lord Hatton was Governor of Guernsey, in which island Lambert was confined.

thoughts, and has often tymes faithfully transcribed them. And truly, my Lord, I now begge credit to it, while it assures you, that (as far as gratitude is of availe) you have not cast yo^r charitie vpon a object altogether vnworthie of it, nor one who can give any intermission to his wishes for an acceptable occasion to expresse it.

And here, my Lorde, give mee leave (seeing I beleeeve it cannot bee unwelcome to you to know the happie effects of what yo^r Lo^{pp} has beene so industrious to procure) to acquaint yo^r Lo^{pp}, that my Lrd Hatton (since his arrival here) has beene pleased to give a great alaye to my affections, by assuring mee that I still live under those gracious reflections, his Ma^{tie} was once pleased to cast vpon mee. I am not wthout hopes that y^e same worth, w^{ch} first gave them beinge, (for none else can) will still keepe them alive; for all y^e fuell I can add, is this assurance, that such free and worthie actions moer resemble his royal brist, than sute wth my innocence, w^{ch}, as it is cleare and untoucht, so I am resolved it shall alwayes remaine wth mee, for from y^e tyme I first felt y^e comfort of his clemencie and Royal Brothers generositie, the most secret corner of my hart cannot accuse mee. And if yo^r Lo^p please (according to yo^r usuall candor) to improve this meane offeringe, to my advantage, none knowes but y^e effects may still prove sutable to y^e royal giver and yo^r prudent conduct, rather then my mirit, w^{ch} ought either to plead by such a mouth as yo^r Lo^{pp}, or bee wholie sylent.

And here, my Lord, againe I beg y^r patience, while I acquaint you that my Lord has not only poured this oyle into my boones, but has confirmed and improved it by a most frendly and candid deportment towards mee, so as his Ma^{ty} late orders of grace ¹ are dispenced to mee wth as

¹ From the warrant books in the State Paper Office, it appears, that by a warrant to Lord Hatton, dated March 12. 1664, Lambert was allowed liberty to range throughout the island. It is probable that this is the act of grace to which he refers, and that his letter (in which the date of the year is omitted) was written in 1664.

liberal a hand as I can expect: so as in truth I find it rather difficult to finde what is fit to aske, then to obtaine. I beseech y^r Lo^p^s pardon this narration, w^{ch} is only worthie yo^r knowledge as it beares witnesse to y^e effects of both yo^r Lo^p^s charites. And therefore, that I may not too largely transgresse against yo^r Lo^p^s better employed thoughts, I humbly beg y^e leave to conclude in assuringe yo^r Lo^p^s that yo^r generous proceedings towards mee have begot an ernist desire how to approve myselfe,

My Lord, yo^r Lo^p^s
Most obedient and humble servant,

J. LAMBERT.

Cornet Cast. Ap. 27.
For the R^l Ho^{bl} Edward Earle of Clarendon,
Lord High Chancelor of Engl.

CXLIV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, the 29th of Apr^l, 1664, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LO^p^s,

TUESDAY last there was another rencontre in y^e Foreholt betweene y^e Prince of Orange and Mons^r D'Estrade y^e French Ambassad^r¹ their coaches between foure and five in y^e afternoone. It so fell out that Mons^r De Witt was att that very nick of time making a visitt just by, and so came in presently. He came first to D'Estrade (as he did also to me in y^e dispute I had wth y^e Duke of Holsteine): no sword drawne on either side, nor a blowe given, but y^e people began to flock in infinite numbers; and, it being the Kerck masse time, the Hague was very full of people, and

¹ See Mémoires de D'Estrade, ii. 348.

a bruit was gott among them that some were murthring the Prince in the Foreholt, w^{ch} made them flye from all places like lightning, and wth a strange murmuring and outcry, so that Mons^r De Witt began to be afraid of himselfe — some haveing already begun to give him ill wordes, and others to pray the Prince for Gods sake to lett them fall on; and it was most evident, that had but one stroke been given, D'Estrade and his coach and horses had been buried upon the place, and his house plundered and pulled downe to the ground. This would have been the least; yea, Mons^r Dewitt himself confessed to me that all y^e French in y^e towne would have been in danger of being massacred: but Zulesteine being in the coach wth y^e Prince, and having sent to the Dowager presently to lett her know what was fallen out, she forthwith comanded him to turne about and bring away the Prince; w^{ch} order he haveing rec^d, not daring to doe otherwise, and yett desiring to make y^e best of it, tooke the Prince out of his coach, and crept wth him under y^e railes into the walke betweene the trees, and so went quite away with him on foote. And when he was att a good distance off, he sent a page to the Princes coachman to turne about and follow his Master; w^{ch} being done, D'Estrade his coach kept on y^e way by the raile.

This business hath caused a great deale of heart burning agst D'Estrade, for that he had y^e raile on his left hand, and so it is generally beleived he tooke that side on purpose to meet y^e Prince: but himselfe saith, comeing from Mons^r Beverwards, his coachman would have taken y^e other side, but was hindered by the multitude of people that were there about the doores of the boōths on that side, and so was forced to take the other way; and that seeing y^e Princes coach did draw off without makeing forcible opposition to him, whereby to bring to him any capitulation or necessity to doe y^e like also, that he had reason to be very well pleased therewith, nor could do otherwise then he had done. He also alleadged, w^{ch} is true, that one before the Prince

had yeilded to him : but Mons^r Zulestine saith, that at that time y^e Prince had not his own coachman, but another who was not experienced in those things ; and so that that was done att unawares, and without their knowledge or consent : but you see how dangerous it is to make slips ; he haveing once att unawares quitted the raile, the French Ambass^{dr} stood upon it that he ought to doe it the 2^d time.

In the mean time, y^e Estates of Holland are still about forming their resolution for fortifying that Rule of the Barriere wth their authority ; but it is wth them in this, as in all other thinges, very long in resolving. Mons^r Ellerode told me yesterday, that y^e Comm^{rs} to whom it was referred had formed their advice to that effect, and that, unless hindred by the press of other matters, y^e Reporte would be made as this day ; but the allarm this weeke from England, in truth, drownes all other considerations. This resolution of the two houses of Parl^{mt} is altogether beyond their expectation, and puts them to their witts end. They thought they might still have gone on dealing as they pleased wth his Ma^{tie} and his subjects, and that a few good wordes now and then would still have been satisfaction enough : now they see they must take other measures ; and beleive me, at the bottom of their heartes, they are sensible of the weight of a warr wth his Ma^{tie}. While y^e sea is open and their trade goes on, they can finde mony ad infinitum ; but if that come to be stopped, it is quite otherwise : they will not be able to beare y^e necessary and ordinary charge of their governm^t, much less carry on such a warre. Yesterday I was wth Mons^r Dewitt : I told him that it was more then time to think to come to such reall resolutions and effects, whereby his Ma^{tie} might be satisfied. I found him mightily nettled ; and withall he said that he would do his utmost to give his Ma^{tie} content. I perceive they doe designe one more conference between me and those of Holland. Loth they are to come to reason ; and, on the other hand, they now see a necessity of it. He said also that he

would endeavour that I might have a private conference with 2 or 3 of the principall of them, whereby to trye how neer we can come to understand each other, both as to the pointe of satisfaction for what is past, and a reglem^t for y^e future in y^e East Indies and upon the coast of Africa.

CXLV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, the 6th of May, 1664, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.,

MONSIEUR BRABECK, and the Deputies of y^e States Geⁿerall, have bin, this weeke, in severall conferences together about the business of Eilarscons. They proffer him the two first paym^{ts}, but no more, and will have y^e Forte deliver'd to them. He on y^e other hand now is willing to accept of the mony, but sticks upon the business of the delevy of the Forte to them, but that it should be demolished; w^{ch} in hon^r, they say, they cannot consent into, as also for that it is to be their caution for the repaym^t of their money. I finde, by the discourses I have had with Brabeck, that the Bipp. hath a strange indignation ags^t this country, and would be contented even to sacrifice himselfe, so as he could be sure to doe them a mischief: but his power is not answerable to his will; and I perceive that Brabeck hath absolute order to doe as he thinkes fitt here upon the place, and faine he would doe better then deliver the place. But, on y^e other hand, I doe not finde he hath any assurance of any assistance, and his own troopes are gone towards Hungary, and the Bipp. ingaged to follow in person; but yett, notwithstanding, if he did see thinges would goe

to a rupture wth England, that he would hazzard upon that account alone. And on the other hand, Dewitt employes himselfe, might and maine, to perswade him to yeild, and no newes of any thing yett done by their troopes. They are both upon the catch. If Dewitt did see that thinges would really come to a rupture wth his Ma^{tie}, he would yeild to Brabeck; if Brabeck thinks they will not, he will yeild to them; and upon the receipt of his Ma^{ty}'s answer to the Parliam^t, those who governe in Holland give out themselves to be mightily well pleased and satisfied therewith, and that a wiser and more temperate answer could not haue been given; and it hath caused the East Indie actions to rise 15 p^r cent.

Dewitt came y^e same day to me, expressing wth great appearing joy his satisfaction therewth; and that since his Ma^{ty} had so tenderly declared himselfe, that for his parte he would, upon y^t account, condescend so much y^e more to give him satisfaction. And we had a long debate about matters: first, as to the list of damages, that theirs should be ready in a few days; and, as to the Hopewell, and Leopard, and Charles, James, and Mary, that he would endea^r to bring thinges to a composure; but when we fell upon the Bona Esperanza and Henry Bonaventure, that as to them we had no reason, nor was anything to be expected. As to the first, that it was now 2 yeares since the conclusion of the late Treaty, and that it was hoped that ere this all those matters should have been ended; but that the contrary being fallen out by their defaults, that it could not now be reasonable that they should yett remaine subject to such a longeur as was sett downe therein, to w^{ch} he expressed himselfe not uninlineable. And as to the Charles, and James, and Mary, I finde by him, and by them all, that I shall be able to bring these matters to reason; and as to the Bona Esperanza and Henry Bonaventure, I told him plainly that there was nothing att all to be done or hoped for, unless they would thinke of making satisfaction as to

them also : that he must not thinke that his Ma^{tie}, having stopped y^e whole late Treaty for about 6 weekes, would after all be induced to abandon it; and it would too nearly touch his hon^r; and the persons concerned in those shippes had such influence upon him, and his Ma^{tie} so ingaged his word unto them, as that it was impossible for him to retreat in this matter: and I must say that I doe not finde any but Dewitt himselfe so hard in this business. Van Buninguen, of Amsterdam, who is also appointed by Holland wth Dewitt to conferre wth me, said to me, no longer agoe than yesterday, that he found Dewitt very opinitrative in this business, but for his parte he was not so, nor would have matters stick upon it. But the truth is, I can finde no other bottome of Dewitts stiffness but this, — that Pergens, who got a sum of money for these 2 ships from the East Indie Comp^y, and is ingaged to returne the same in case his Ma^{tie} will not be otherwise satisfied, is his concern.

And as to the business of makeing a Reglem^t for the avoiding of the like disputes for y^e future, we had very much discourse about that also. And thus farre De Witt is agreed, viz. that we should forme a project drawne into a few Articles conteining those maximes that are sett downe in my severall Memorialls, upon which I have founded y^e demanding of satisfaction, for the late injuries done in y^e East Indies and upon the coast of Africa; viz. that a place is not to be accounted beseiged upon the account of the lying of some ships before it, and consequently trade not to be hindred upon that account; that y^e being of either of these countrys in warre with any Prince, in those partes, is not a sufficient ground upon w^{ch} to hinder y^e trade of y^e other; that the haveing of a Forte or Lodge in a place, cannot hinder tradeing wth the natives not subject to them, and y^e like: y^t haveing drawn up these co^mon and fundamentall necessary maximes, then to try if we can bring the Comp^{ies} of either side to y^e shar- ing of any particular places in dispute, so as that such a

place should be left to the English only, and the Dutch not to come there at all; and such a place to be left to the Dutch, and y^e English not to come thither: and in this to goe as farre as we can wth y^e consent of both Comp^{ies}, and what we cannot agree to wth consent, without spending of time, to lett it alone, and thus to lay foundations for a future better correspondance: and certainly a place thus appropriated is worth 4 or 5 places in co^mon; for that while both come, they overlay the trade, and so are faine to sell their own co^modities cheaper and buy those of the natives at deare rates.

On the other hand, they are mightily allarm'd from England, that his Ma^{tie} is equipping might and maine to gett between 20 and 30 ships to sea; and, as their informations are, that y^e most of them are deseigned northward, to looke after their East Indie fleete; also, that his Ma^{tie} is putting his other ships into a readiness, y^t so he may be able to have them at sea att a shorte warning. And in like manner they are here att worke to have theirs in like forwardness; and without delay 6 ships are gone from Amsterdam towards the sea, w^{ch} they thinke to send before, wth fresh provisions, and other necessities, for their East Indie ships, and 10 more to fall downe thence also in a few dayes, if the winds continue as they are, intending to make 20 or 25 ships to secure that fleete; and withall, that they may putt a brave face upon it, as was alwayes the fashion of this country since I knew it, to huff and make a mighty doe att the first allarme. But this is upon the charge of the ordinary revenue, and so long Holland may doe what they please; but if it should come to y^e demanding of mony from the other Provinces, as it must if they will doe any thing to the purpose, it will not be possible for them to induce them to engage in a warre, and spend their money, to maintaine y^e East and West Indie Comp^{ies} in their robberies and violencies. And by this days newes from Amsterdam, the East Indie actions are fallen againe 9 in

the hundred, and a principall dealer in them broke, w^{ch} they thinke will also make many others breake; and there are dead this last weeke to the number of 338; and if the plague thus increase within, and a warre wth his Ma^{tie} without, there will be little need of that vast new towne they are making there.

Dewitt told me, that by his particular letters from France he finds that they are mighty glad of this hopes and appearance of a breach between his Ma^{tie} and this country; for that they hope thereby not only to gett a share of the trade, but to carry on their other designes without controule or hindrance.

The last weeke againe I prevailed y^t another letter was written from the States Gen^l to those of Zeland, to furnish their quota for the presents for England; yett they still opiniatre and will not doe it. But Vangoh is here, and a ship coming from England before Schoevling to transport him, that he may not be hindred by the winds; and he must now be gone immediately, without so much as waiting for his instructions or for the presents, but to be gone, and they will give him orders upon the place. And they speake also of sending some as Comm^{rs} to be assisting underhand, but otherwise only to appeare as particular persons; and De Ghent and Van Buninguen and some others are named; and they talke that they make no doubt but, by monies well placed att Court, to doe their business; and it is certaine they had rather give a tun of gold in that way, than pay a shilling; and they are so impudent, some of them, as to name persons that they will in that way attacque; and withall they say, that if they can but procrastinate businesses, so as to gett in their East Indie fleete and their herring fleet, to be att least in a parte over, that then they shall have time enough to talke.

De Ruther putt to sea wth his fleete 8 dayes agoe, and, the winds haveing been so good ever since, is no doubt on his way ere this.

This afternoone I have been with Mon^r Dewitt. He told me they had a great allarme about a new business, viz. that the English should be now about sending to take New Netherland. I replyed, that I knew of no such country but only in the mapps; that, indeed, if their people were to be beleived, all the world were New Netherland; but that, when that buisiness shall be looked into, it will be found that y^e English had the first pattern of first possession of those partes. Then we fell upon y^e maine business againe. He told me that the Estates of Holland had resolved to have the list of damages speedily exchanged; that as to the Hopewell, and Leopard, and Charles, and James, and Mary, that they would accommodate those buisinesses wth me; that they would also be willing to make a reglement for prevention of the like for the future; but as to y^e Bona Adventure and Bona Esperanza, that nothing was to be done. And I found still in his discourse, and in all other discourses we have of late had about these matters, that he would, in the first place, fall upon y^e business of the reglem^t, and would faine that att this time there be taking pen in hand, to come to something about it. I replyed, as to the first, that I was glad they had taken such a resolution, but that it was high time it were putt in execution, it being now almost 2 yeares since y^e conclusion of y^e Treaty, and yett as to Zeland, &c. I did not heare of any thinge done by them in relation to this matter. Besides, I told him that they would doe well to take heed not to putt in things extravagant and improper. To y^r 2^d, I told him that all had been said that could possibly be said, and therefore that now satisfaction, and nothing else, was expected by the King. As to the reglem^t, I told him I was ready to labour therein, but not in the first place, nor till we were agreed upon satisfaction for what was past, and particularly as to the Bona Esperanza and Bonaventure; and that if his Ma^{tie} did of himselfe stop y^e Treaty wth this country so long time upon this single account, that they might be as-

sured, that being backed as now he is by his Parlm^t, he will not abandon that matter: it is Dewitt alone y^t opiniatres in this business, upon the account above mentioned. I doe intend tomorrow to give in y^e Memoriall herein inclosed concerning these buisnesses, and so to endeav^r to putt things forward what I can, their aime being to temporize wth wordes to gaine time.

CXLVI.

LORD HOLLIS to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Paris, 21 May, 64.

“METHINCKS Ambassadors compliments have but a pretty cold reception here—looked upon rather as an homage done than an expression of kindness—and I doe not find any of my fellow Ambassadors here very fond of Audiences, and much taken with the courtship used to them; only the Spanish is a ranck courtier, and a most assiduous one, and is in truth a very fine gentleman. But I wonder he speeds so well with it, for some of these Ministers have told me they have bin handsomely lett know, that this King doth not desire forrein Ministers should be too familiar at Court, but that when they have business they should desire an Audience, when they must stay some time for it, till more be ready for one; and then the King will dispatch three or foure in a morning. But the Mantesan is most mortified, complaining that, his Master having a house in Fontainebleau, where he might be very commodiously, and cost him nothing, they will not permit him to make use of it, because the King will not have any of the forrein Ministers so near his Court: and trewly I am still mortified that I can not obtaine the benefit of that priviledge which all my

predecessors English Ambassadors have ever had, of having our time wee spend free from the droit d'entrée. Trewly I looke upon it as an injury to the caracter, and so reflecting upon our Master."

CXLVII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, the 13th of May, 1664, O. S.

THEY go on wth all dilligence here in making all their ships in readiness; and they intend to have 30 saile of there best ships with all speede att sea, beside those that are in the Streights, and besides those that y^e East Indie Comp^y have hired to convoy home their return ships: and those of Holland are soliciting mightily y^e other Provinces, that they would consent to this extraordinary equipage; but "What?" say they, "we have taken nothing from y^e King nor his subjects, nor hath he taken any thing from us, nor do demand anything of us; and why then should we ingage our selves, and spend our monies, to maintaine the insolvencies of y^e East Indie Comp^y?"

I saw this day a letter from a ruling person of one of the Provinces to one of y^e same Province here, wherein he writes y^t he hoped that no breach would or could fall out; for that, said he, if y^e dispute be wth the East and West Indie Comp^{ies}, and the violencies done by them, it is fitt they should be ranged to reason and give satisfaction, and not be engaged to maintaine them in their evill deeds, at our cost and hazzard. On the other hand, y^e great artifice of those of Holland, and whereby they endea^vr to engage all to them, is by blowing up of stories and falsities, and

agravating of matters. Say they — the demands of y^e English amount to 60 millions of gilders, a sum we are never able to pay. Secondly, the English demand satisfaction for thinges already payd for, and for thinges that are blotted out by Treaties. 3^d, they will force us to take y^e Prince of Orange, and give him all his Fathers charges, whether we will or not; and, say they, we are only judges what is fitt for us to doe in that, and did we think it fitt to be done, yett we will not be forced to it. We are a sovereigne govern^{mt} of ourselves, and, say they, we have more ships then the King, and better ships; and our stores are full, and our creditt great, and much quiett among our selves; and therefore, say they, we can never fall out in a better time. They are resolved to send one to Muscovy, without delay, to try what they can doe there for the help of their trade.

Vaugoh is still preparing for England, and intends to be gone speedily for England; but those of Zeland have excused their sending a ship to carry him, so that y^e Admiralty of Rotterdam must doe it. There have bin some Deputies to view all their shipping, and the condition they are in: Beverward also, and some others, have bin to view the Brill and Helvoet Sluice, and other sea ports; and they speake of fortifying Helvoet Sluice, for y^e better securing of their shipping there.

There dyed last weeke at Amsterdam 362, so that yo^r Lopp. may see the plague increaseth there every week much.

They have already got 16 saile of men of warre ready there, the least whereof carryes 40 guns, most 50, and so to 64, and they are still going on wth their equipage; and it is their opinion that, by shewing their teeth, they shall be able to fright you into a compliance and obtaine their ends, though I am sure they doe dread a warre as y^e Devill; but if braving can doe it, and putting a good face upon it, they would fight all y^e world. Thus they doe in

all cases; but afterwards, when they see that will not doe, and that their great looks are not feared, they are tame enough to be dealt withall, and lett nothing be asked but what is founded upon justice and reason: and I make no doubt of bringing thinges to an hon^{ble} close.

CXLVIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, y^e 20th May, 1664, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.,

UNDERSTANDING that y^e Dep^{ties} of y^e Estates Geñ^{ll} were to have a meeting upon Munday last in the morning, about the businesse of y^e shippes Bona Esperanza and Henry Bonadventure, and that it was y^e designe and intent of Mons^r Dewitt to engage them all in a vote, that by y^e words “litem inceptam prosequi” in the 15th Añte of the late Treatie, was to be understood that “lis incepta” in the yeare 1651, at Amsterdam, by Jonas Abeels, by procuraçõn from S^r Paul Pindar, I sent before hand to lett them know I desir’d a conference about the meaning of those words; which was accordingly done, and halfe¹ ten that morning appointed for y^e houre, and it continued till halfe¹ one.

Being together, I told them that I heard of a rumour or report, as if some doubt should be made of y^e true intent and meaning of those words, as if they were not to be construed of the “lis incepta” here at y^e Hague, by order from y^e King my master, in a politick way between them and me, but of a certain processe at Amsterdam, many yeares agone, before y^e ordinarie justice there; — that though

¹ Sic.

I could not beleve any of them were of that opinion, yet, however, for more assurance, and being desirous rather to exceed then to be wanting in my duty, especially in a matter wherein I knew my Master so much concerned, not onely upon y^e justnesse of y^e cause, but also the account of his word, ingaged to y^e persons interested therein, and his honour having so farre appear'd in that matter that it was impossible for him to retreate without satisfaction, having stopt the whole Treatie 6 weekes when all other matters were agreed, even to an iota, upon y^e single account of this businesse; and that, onely (*quoad modum et formam agendi*) to have it ended in that politick way in which it was then depending here, and not to be left to y^e delatory, chargeable, and endlesse way of y^e ordinary course of justice:—that all this could not but be so well known to them, as that I did assure mysele there could be no misunderstanding as to y^e construction of them; but, however, I thought fitt to give them that trouble, to lett them know that if any of them were of another mind, that I was there ready to give them satisfaction.

Whereupon they all withdrew into an inner chamber; and after some time staid there, coming out againe, Mons^r Huiggens, y^e eldest Commissarie for Gelder, said that they had well considered those words, and that they were of opinion that they might be construed another way,—that is to say, either of y^e “*lis incepta*” at Amsterdam, before y^e ordinarie Justice there, or of that here begun by me with them; and that since they might be construed either way, that it was as free for them to take them in y^e sense they had most mind to, as for me to take them in y^e sense I conceived most advantageous for y^e English: that at Amsterdam being a “*lis incepta*” as well as this.

Whereupon I replied, that I did not doubt to make it evident that these words in this place ought not, nor could not, be apply'd to any other “*lis incepta*” then that at y^e Hague; for first, said I, as to y^e “*lis incepta*” at Amster-

dam, S^r Paul Pindar that gave the procura^on is dead, and also, as I take it, Jonas Abeels to whom it was given. Now, supposing S^r Paul Pindar onely to be dead, with him died also his procura^on, &c; consequently that “lis incepta” by virtue thereof, is dead also, so that it is in itselfe absolutely impossible “litem istam prosecui;” for that there must be a new procuration and a new Procureur, and so it will not be litem inceptam prosecui, sed novam litem instituere: and that this case being once argued before Mons^r Dewitt and me, between some Advocates on y^e behalfe of y^e persons interessed in these shippes, and Vandam y^e Advocate of y^e East Indie Comp^y; the said Vandam did acknowledge, that if this businesse should come to Amsterdam before y^e ordnary Justice there, that upon this account they could not go on where Jonas Abeels left, and so not “litem inceptam prosecui” upon y^e account above men^oned, but must begin againe, and that y^e Court would and must againe de novo dispute y^e quality of them that should give this new procuration, and of them to whom it should be given; and therefore (said I), by “lis incepta” cannot be meant that “lis,” but must be this at y^e Hague, which may be prosecuted, all being yet in statu quo as before y^e making of that Treatie.

Secondly, I asked them this question (there being severall things hard to be understood in S^r Paul’s Epistles) — whether it would not be a madnesse to go to Dictionaries and Commentaries for y^e meaning of those places, if we could have addresse immediately to Sanctum Spiritum dictantem, et Sanctum Paulum loquentem. The persons were all alive that were the transactors in the making of that Treatie, and all passages yet fresh in memorie: that y^e certainest way, therefore, to know y^e meaning of any words therein, (if any doubt was made) was to apply to them; and that I had in my hand those papers that I did not doubt but would give them full satisfaction as to that.

First, I had before me the letters which I had received from his Ma^{ties} Ministers, who had y^e principall direction and management of that affaire; particularly those from Secretary Morice: that in his of y^e 25th July, and 5 and 15th August, he calls y^e "lis" at y^e Hague the "lis incepta," and that in opposi^cōn to y^e seeking remedie in y^e ordnary way of justice. Moreover, in y^e same letters, as also in that of y^e 8th August, and that of y^e 29th August of y^e same yeare, he saith that y^e Ambⁿ of this state did strongly insist, both in their private discourses with him, and in y^e publick conferences with his Ma^{ties} Commⁿ, that this matter might be left to the ordnary course of justice, but was positively refused, and that, upon those arguments, because, first, the parties interested must then begin againe, whereas y^e businesse was now ready for a close; secondly, that they must be put to a new and vast charge; and, in y^e third place, all this without any hope of effect, haveing to do with so powerfull and rich an adversary as was y^e East Indie Company, and y^e Eschevins or ordnary Judges of Amsterdam being parties, most of them being concerned in y^e East Indie Comp^y; and that, upon these accounts, his Ma^{tie} would rather consent to y^e utter blotting out of this businesse, then to except it in such a way. That being ill satisfied herewith, they addressed themselves to his Ma^{ty} himselfe, hoping to prevaile further with him; but that his Ma^{ty} gave them for answer, that come what would of y^e Treatie, he would not consent, neither to the blotting out of y^e businesse of these 2 shippes, nor to y^e leaving them to y^e ordinary way of justice; but that they should go on in the way they were then in, and the "lis incepta" be prosecuted. That for y^e further verrifying hereof, besides y^e letters of the s^d Secretary, I did therewith rendr them a certificate under y^e hands and seales of all his Maj^{ties} Commⁿ with whom that Treatie was concluded, to y^e same effect, as also another paper under his Maj^{ties} owne hand, containing

what he declared to their Amb^r, and commanding me to admit of no other construction of those words.

Moreover, I told them that I had in my hands a printed booke, wherein was a letter with y^e names of Vanhoorn and Van Gogh under it, and said to be their letter. Whether it were so or not it was for them to judge; but if it was, that even by their owne confession it was plaine that they themselves, when they did signe the Treaty, did by y^e wordes “lis incepta” understand the “lis incepta” here, and no other; and therefore, seeing omnes partes contractantes did so understand them, both before and at y^e time of signing, that that, and nothing else, must be held to be y^e true meaning of them.

Further, I desired them to consider that what was obtained in this businesse was, in truth, obtain’d upon a most valuable considera^{ti}on; for that, for y^e facilitating of y^e excepting of this businesse, and in a manner therein exprest, his Ma^{ty} had beene pleased, in y^e same A^{rt}le, to suffer to be blotted out all other antient pretences of his subjects in y^e East Indies. Besides, I desir’d them to consider that his Ma^{ty}, since his returne to his kingdomes, had very many times, at y^e instance of their Amb^r, done their subjects right in a politick way, without sending them to y^e ordnary course of justice; that themselves also, to my knowledge, had very often done y^e like in y^e times of y^e Usurpers of y^e English, and particularly in that noted case of y^e Postillion, Frederick, Francis, and John: why, then, so much difficulty at this time, and that against a cleare engagement by Treaty thereunto? whereas there was no such argument obliging thereunto in y^e former cases.

Lastly, I asked them this question;—Suppose his Ma^{tie} should suffer his businesse to go to y^e ordnary course of justice, what could they get thereby? for if right were not done and satisfaction given, y^e matter would revert back to his Ma^{tie} againe, with onely so much y^e stronger outcrye, upon y^e account his subjects should spend so much time, and as much mony, without effect.

In fine, they seem'd still to be of their former opinion, but yet desired a copy of y^e attestacōn given by his Ma^{ties} Comm^{rs}, as also of that given by himselfe, which I have sent them; and I understand that they have since written to Amsterdam, for Vanhoorn to come hither, purposely that they may speake with him about this businesse: and they do give out that both he and Van Gogh will signe an attestation directly contrary to that which is sign'd by his Ma^{ties} Comm^{rs}. I have since, also, this weeke deliver'd to y^e Estates Geñ^l his Ma^{ties} letter concerning this businesse, the which came in very good time, as it happened, by my having kept them from coming to a conclusion, at y^e conference above menconed.

I am, my Lord,
Yo^r Lopp^s most obedient hum. serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

CXLIX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, May 20. 1664, O.S.

HOLLAND doth press in y^e Estates Geñ^l, y^e consent of y^e other Provinces for the million extraordinary, towards this present great equipage that they are now making. They have also proposed in y^e Estates Geñ^l, the speaking with me about y^e appointing a day for y^e exchange of the list of damages, after which no farther pretences to be admitted according to the Article of y^e Treaty; and I doe this day expect a resolution to be brought to me to that effect. They have also proposed the coming to debate neerer wth me the business of the Hopewell, and Leopard, Charles, James, and Mary; and the last resolution of Holland concerning these matters doth import the not tying themselves

to waite to expect the returne ships from y^e East Indies. As to y^e ships Hopewell and Leopard, notwithstanding y^e y^e Directⁿ of the East Indie Comp^y have so much pressed it, but only this, they would now faine have y^e, the agreem^t being made, the money should remaine in deposito untill y^e returne of those ships; and that then, y^e matter appearing as is aleadged, to be forthwith paid. They have also proposed their resolution about y^e making of a reglem^t, in y^e East and West Indies, for the future, for the avoiding of y^e like inconveniencies for the time to come; so that yo^r Lopp. may see this heavy dull body doth begin to stirre att last. And as I have told yo^r Lopp., from the first of my coming into this country, so I say still, reason may be had, if persued in a right way: in the mean time, on the other hand, they say they will not be surprised again as they were in Cromwell's time; and therefore they still go on apace wth y^e equipping their men of warre and listing of seamen, and Obdam is preparing to be in readiness, and they hope to have all fixed by the end of the next month at farthest.

I had this weeke a very kinde letter from Haniball Sested, wth declaration, among other things, of their satisfaction as to y^e rencontre between the Duke of Holstein and me; and I cannot also but let you know, that this week I have had a visitt from De Groote¹, Pentionaire of Amsterdam, who is Dewitts right hand in that place, and we were formerly very great friends; but since my coming here as from his Ma^{ty}, though I had endev^d by all meanes, I could never gett a visitt from him till now; and I take this for a good symptome, and that there is now hopes that matters will goe otherwise, and for the better. There are one or two more, also, of Dewitts right hands y^e have now done the like to me, w^{ch} I looke upon as better symptomes then anything else whatsoever. De Groot and I had much discourse, and he protests highly y^e the towne of Amsterdam will doe all

¹ Peter de Groot, second son of the celebrated Hugo de Groot, better known under the Latinised name of "Grotius."

things that, in any reason, may be expected from them ; nor doe I finde him opiniatrative, as Mons' Dewitt, as to the business of y^e Bona Esperanza, &c, though it is true that that business goes very much ag^t y^e haire wth them all : but yett some of them begin a little to whisper y^t, though eo nomine they will not give a farthing, yett that among other businesses, rather then faile, they will be contented to throw something the more into the scale.

CL.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, the 29th of July, 1664, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.,

By letters from De Ruither, he hath broke with them of Algiers upon y^e point of not searching their ships ; nor was he able to obtaine any thing from them in relation to the goods, ships, or men that they had taken, but only about fourescore, that were aged or decrepped, he hath ransomed for mony att the price their patrons had bought them. There yett remaines about three hundred more ; and for them, those that had them demanded foure times as much as they had paid for them, and so they remaine still in slavery. And he was faine to give thirty-five Turks for their Consul, and of them some were such as had bin putt on board them by some French for the redeeming of some French slaves : and De Ruither is gone from Algiers to clean, and so to Tunis.

There dyed this last weeke at Amsterdam 739, but they feare an increase this weeke ; and y^e plague is scattered generally over the whole country, even to Little Dorps and Villages ; and it is gott to Antwerp and Bruxells, so that they will not suffer any ships or vessells of Holland or Zeland

to come to Antwerp; and 2 severall shipps are returned out of Spaine, for that they would not suffer them to have any trade att all there; and, indeed, it is very dangerous, but especially as to woollen and linen, for that they hold y^e infection most: and this, you must needs imagine, is a mighty hinderance of their trade, and the people begin now generally to be more fearfull of the plague then hitherto they have bin: and here at y^e Hague they begin to take better course, by shutting up and marking the houses that are infected.

Satterday Dewitt was wth me, and this afternoon I wth him: good wordes enough; but wⁿ it comes to y^e points in difference, I very much doubt. So far as yet I see, for y^e Hopewell, Leopard, Charles, James, and Mary, he is content satisfaction be made; but for y^e Bona Esperanza and Bona Adventure not: and they have putt into y^e list of damages, ships taken and stopped by Cromwells fleet before Ostend, for y^e King to pay for; whereas it was against him, and to his prejudice, y^r Lordship knows, y^t they were taken: nor will they go farther yⁿ y^e letter of y^e Treaty. He saith they are ready to make a reglement for y^e future; but whether such as my orders beare, and as will do y^e business, I doubt; and they will have (he saith) an Article added, for y^e restitution of their places and ships in Guinee. This was y^e substance of his discourse. Its my duty in time to let his Ma^{ty} knowe w^t is to be expected, y^t he may cast about accordingly.

I have this week a letter from my L^d Carlisle from Moscow, and unless Mr. Coventry make hast he may be at Stockholm before him. The Sweedes are like to have no satisfaction heer, nor ought but words. Dewitt doth not (he saith) think y^e King of Spain is dead. I had none from y^r Lordship this week.

I am, my L^d,

Y^r Lordships most obed. humb. sert.

G. DOWNING.

Dewitt speaks not this afternoon so hot of sending immediately to Guinee, as he did Saturday last. — Just now one of Obdams footmen is come to town wth news y^t six out of Obdams ships, and 8 of . . .¹ are carryed to the Pest-house, having the plague upon y^m.

CLI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, Aug. 9th, 1664, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.,

THERE is a ship arrived from Guiny, w^{ch} saith she mett y^e East Indie fleet of this country in y^e latitude of 45 degrees, and that comeing about by Scotland she had given notice thereof to Trump: she saith they are 11 in number, 6 whereof for the chamber of Amsterdam. I need not tell you, what joy this news makes here; and when they are in harbour, they will then discover their temper: and the Admiralties are to be here y^e end of this month, and we shall then particularly see what they will doe about the business of Guiny, 4 of the 12 ships designed for w^{ch} place are beginning to be made ready at Amsterdam; but Holland doth not as yet push on that business wth zeale in the States Geñäff, but under hand they doe their utmost: they would have some of the other Provinces declare first, or at least be sure of them to second them.

There dyed last weeke at Amsterdam 933, and at Layden above 200, and the sickness increaseth here also, and the people will be kept to no order, so that truly we know not whom we may venture to converse withall.

I am, my L^d,

Y^r L^dships most ob^t humb. serv^t.

G. DOWNING.

¹ Illegible.

CLII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, the 16 of Aug. 1664, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP.,

THIS morning I have bin in conference wth y^e Deputies of y^e States Geñāll, about yo^r exchanging of y^e list of damages. They did press that, at y^e time of y^e exchange thereof, an Act should be signed that no new pretence should be admitted. I did presently apprehend what reach or designe Dewitt might have therein, viz', to have thereby something to hold out for the annulling of old pretences, if it should so fall out y^t Polaroon should be restored. Yett this was not a reason fitt to be mentioned, upon w^{ch} I should refuse it; but I told them that no such thing was required by y^e Treaty, and therefore that I saw no reason why it should be demanded; that y^e closeing of the list of dammages, w^{ch} I was ready to doe, was of it selfe an exclusion of all new pretences, and so that it was also unnecessary; besides that, by the letter of y^e 15th Article, y^e lists y^t were to be exchanged, to be first considered before they were agreed, and therefore that it was improper, before consideration of them, to be engaged by any previous Act. Hereupon they withdrew; and after some time of debate among themselves, returned to me againe, and told me that since I would not engage myselfe to signe such an act, that yett they did desire that they might pen one, and deliver it to me, to send to the King, to have his order upon it. I replied, that I could not refuse that to them: whereupon they said they would send me such a one. Then they desired, that to every particular dammage might be added the

value att w^{ch} it was esteemed : to w^{ch} I answered, that y^t I could doe, but y^t I had never knowne it practised in any other disputes of this nature that I had had wth them, and therefore knew not why it should be desired now ; nor did I know to what use it could serve, other then, in case if any one should have valued their dammages extravagantly, that thereby occasion should be taken to decry others who had only sett downe theirs according to sobriety and truth. In conclusion, they said that theirs was yett only in Dutch, &^c ; therefore that they did desire they might have 2 or 3 dayes time to putt it into French, and then they should be ready to exchange it. I told them that I thought that that had bin done ere now, but since it was not, they must take what time they pleased for y^e doing it ; and so the conference ended.

CLIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

Hague, 26th of Aug. 1664, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r LOPP.,

SATTURDAY last I gave in the inclosed Memoriall, demanding, that their East Indie ships being now come in, and so all pretence of farther delay taken off, that satisfaction be made for the Hopewell and Leopard. Tuesday I exchanged the list of damages, y^e w^{ch} being too long to copy, I have sent it by this post to Se^{cy} Morice ; and yesterday I have also, wth a short Memoriall, given y^m what his Ma^{tie} demands for a reglement for the future ; to w^{ch} I have added y^e last Article for the declaring null of Valkenburgh's declaration, whereby he demands y^e whole Gold Coast ; and also of another of y^e like nature lately putt out by those of the East Indie Comp^y, whereby they claime y^e South Sea and I know not what more. And I did thinke it very

necessary to adde this Article,—these being matters of great moment, and better putt y^m in now then afterwards; and if yo^r Lopp. doe approve thereof, I desire I may have y^e signification of his Ma^{ties} mind concerning the same. If not, there is no hurt done: I can quitt it upon the first conference; but I suppose it will be thought very necessary to be insisted on.

I have not had any answere from them since my Memoriall concerning the Hopewell and Leopard; but I finde, by y^e East Indie Comp^{ies} letter to them, y^t they would be still justifying what they have done, and that they doe absolutely claime to themselves y^e whole Pepper trade att Cocheene, and parts adjacent, and so continue their old trade of makeing warre wth the Kings of those countries, and keeping us from all trade wth them, till they have brought them to agree to sell all to them, and then by vertue of such agreem^t for ever exclude us.

For the list of damages w^{ch} I gave them, they have sent copies of it to the respective Admiralties, and to every Province, and to the East and West Indy Comp^{ies} so much as concernes them respectively; and as to their List, I must expect from yo^r Lopp. his Ma^{ties} order how I shall proceed therein, as also informations concerning the particulars, for that it is impossible for me here to gaine the same; and the 15th article saith, that after y^e exchange of the lists, and before their being agreed in order to their being proceeded upon, that they shall be particularly and duely examined by either rule, that so all such matters may be expunged out of them as are either out of time or of such a nature as may not be thought fitt to be referred to such an arbitration. And it is most necessary that paines be taken herein, whereby to evince to the world the extravagancy and the ungroundedness of their pretensions therein, — and such yo^r Lo^dpp will finde, upon examination, the most of them to be; and you may, att first view, suspect the rest by what they demand ag^t the English East Indie

Comp^y, then w^{ch} nothing can be more extravagant. It would be too long for me to descant thereupon; and for the rest, they are mostly either Spanish goods taken in Cromwells time during his warre with Spaine, or ships and goods taken by English with Portugall Commissions since his Ma^{ties} returne; whereas it is most certaine, that, till the signing of his Ma^{ties} Treaty of 1662, it was not unlawfull for his subjects to take Portugall Commissions. And though it is true that his Ma^{tie} did take from severall of them, the ships they had taken of this country, yett what he did in that was of grace and kindness, and not of due; yett you see what use is made thereof to swell up their List wth demands of y^t nature, yea, even in relation to those very ships w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} was pleased to cause to be restored, under pretence of an anchor or a cable, or I know not what, to be wanting. And so, upon due examination, it will appeare that most of their List consists of matters of such a nature, as is not fitt to be referred to such an arbitration, nor to have any demands founded upon them; and the doeing hereof is of great moment, for otherwise I must agree to their List wth all that heape of pretensions therein; and then you may judge what use they will make thereof to pay his Ma^{ties} subjects wth paper, w^{ch} is y^t they deseign thereby. But if yo^r Lopp. please to helpe me, I shall so pay them for their voluminous List, that they shall wish they had made it shorter. I pray yo^r Lopp. that no time be lost in this matter, and that the doeing thereof may be referred to some few that will sit constantly att it, and that y^e East Indie Comp^y, and others concerned therein, may be forthwith summon'd, to give answer to y^e particulars wherewith they are charged.

It is farther to be remarked with what aggravating termes matters are therein sett downe, particularly in y^t place wherein they charge some English to have cruelly treated some of their people; whereas, in y^e List I have given them, I have avoided all thinges of that nature,

whereas I could have instanced very much ; but by what they have done they will justifie me, when, upon y^e opening of matters, I shall lett it be seen how much of that kinde hath bin practised by them.

CLIV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, Sep. 2^d, 1664, O. S.

YESTERDAY the Estates Gen^l wrote to y^e Provinces of Gelder, Overysell, and Groningen, that they would without farther delay furnish their respective quota's (of which they are yett behind) of y^e million of gilders consented to in the Spring, for their extraordinary fleete now att sea ; as also they then wrote to all y^e Provinces, to desire y^m forthwith to assemble, and give their consents to the 600,000 gilders for the succour now sending for Guiny. In the mean time, those of Holland and Zeland also doe push on, might and maine, y^e makeing ready the fleete designed thither under Van Campen ; and the shipps w^{ch} they make ready are very great ones—from 40 to 50 guns and more, —and they will be ready, as those of y^e Admiralties themselves say, some time next weeke ; and the Councell of State and the Estates Gen^l have bin this weeke, and are yett, very buisy about preveiling the land soldjers to be putt on board them, wth what officers should co^mmand them. Prince William would have y^m take so many entire comp^{ies} ; but the Councell of State are for takeing so many out of every comp^y as to make up the number ; and they say, that if they can but gett out 14 dayes before his Ma^{ties} fleete, y^t they doubt not but, wth this strength, to

be able to cleare that coast both of English shipping and garrisons before they come. And for getting thither, it is not only commonly talked, but hath for certaine on Monday and Tuesday last bin in debate in the Estates, to send this fleet directly through the Channell, and not to lett them goe round about; and that Obdam (who lies near Zeland, for more safety and to be redie), with their whole strength att sea, shall convoy them out of danger; which would be a great brave (I will not say affront, or worse) to his Ma^{tie}. But the determination of this point is left till y^e coming of the Admiralties, who, as also the Estates of Holland, will be here on Tuesday next; and if they should take such a resolution, it will not be taken till the fleet is just ready to depart, and then it will be too late to give yo^r Lopp. notice thereof.

In the mean time, Trump with 4 ships is also joined wth Obdam; so y^t he hath now with him about 25 saile, and most of them ships of great force. For y^e fleet of Trump, it lyes yett in y^e Texell, and thereabouts: they have once or twice bin upon paying them off, but as yett it is not done, nor, on the other hand, are they yett re-victualled and reprovided to putt to sea: so that yo^r Lopp. may see, by all, how high these people doe yett carry it; not but that they doe att their hearts dread a warre with his Ma^{tie}, but they thinke that he is also afraid of them, and that they may out brave him, w^{ch} is the thing they designe; and then, say they, the world were all our own; and it is their ordinary talke;—“the English talke much of a warre with us; but our fleet att sea is as strong againe as theirs, and the King hath no mony, and the parliam^t is againe adjourned without giving him any.”

There are this weeke dead at Layden 250 odd, and at Amsterdam 1041: and, as my letters this day thence say, the plague probably still increaseth there this weeke.

Tis not yett knowne what dividend y^e East Indy Comp^y will make this yeare. They talke but of 20 p^r Cent; and

others say they will keep up their mony for a while, untill they shall see farther how matters are like to goe with England. They speake of sending Trump to the Streights, instead of De Ruither. They have prohibited all book-sellers from selling any of his Ma^{ties} answers to Vangoch, upon great penalties; but yett I finde wayes of disposing of them.

CLV.

SIR ROBERT HYDE¹ to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MY EVER HONOURD LORDE,
Yours sent by M^r Hollis, hee brought mee the Monday following the date, since which I have conferred with him, with M^r Ludlow, and with your officers, concerning your affaires at Clarendon.² Upon debate with James Harris,

¹ Sir Robert Hyde, Kt. was, on May 31. 1660, made Puisne Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; and on October 19. 1663, promoted to be Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He had been Serjeant at law, and a member of the Long Parliament. He was cousin to Lord Clarendon.

² Clarendon Park, near Salisbury, purchased by Lord Clarendon from the Duke of Albemarle. It was crown land, which, having been granted by Edward VI. to Sir W. Herbert for two lives, reverted to the Crown in 1601. It is stated by Pepys to have been mortgaged by Charles I. for 20,000*l.*, and granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Albemarle subject to this mortgage, which the King is said, on Lord Clarendon becoming the purchaser, to have enabled him (by grant under the Privy Seal) to pay off. Pepys, ii. 158, 159. From this letter, and passages in Pepys' Diary (ii. 193. et seq.), it appears that the Crown reserved the timber. Attempts have been made to raise, upon the conversations recorded by Pepys on the subject of this timber, a serious charge of corruption against Lord Clarendon. The facts of the case, on the adverse and *ex parte* statements of Pepys, were these:—Lord Clarendon expressed great displeasure, because the Commissioners of the Navy, who had at their command the timber of all the extensive royal forests, had, as he believed, through malice, selected his new acquisition, Clarendon Park, and sent down a person ill disposed towards the Lord Chancellor to despoil the beauty of that property, by marking the timber there to be immediately cut down for the use of the navy. It seems, too, that they had also caused to be cut down a tree belonging to him. There is nothing in what Pepys states, which indicates an intention

Giles Clotterbooke, Will. Hayward, and my Cosin Eure, touching M^r Hollis proposalls of renting the tithes, and coppices, I am fully satisfied, that it is utterly unfit for you to lett any tithe to him (other then the tithes of his owne farme, in case he continue tenant thereto, whereof wee shall discourse farther at our meetinge), or to admitt him to any new interest (either in woods or lands) in Clarendon, without good ties to prevent preiudice to your selfe, or tenants there. As for M^r Ludlow, I haue perused all his deedes, and papers, w^{ch} make out his case, as it is stated by his petition, and shall give your Lo^{pp} a true account thereof at my returne. In the meane time, hee professeth to stand and fall by your owne judgment, and desires to rest on your goodness (touching his estate, and title in Clarendon), without attendance on the L^o Treasurer, or any other person whatsoever: and I doe soe farre approve of his resolution, that I intreate your Lo^{pp} not to putt him offe, but give such rule (in his case) as your selfe (on consideration had of the matter) shall thinke good, whereto hee will readily submitte. The Earle of Pembroke sente his Agent to mee, touchinge his pretence, whome I acquainted with the contents of your letter (as to the reference to the L^o Treasurer, and the time designed for it), and advised that somebody should (then) attend on the Earles behalfe, w^{ch} will (I guesse) bee observed. As for M^r Cooper, I finde by Ja. Harris, and Will. Hayward, that he assented (before my cominge home) to quitt the possession of what hee holdes in Clarendon, at Mich. next. But (now) hee indeavors to continue your tenant, although your officers (on his former

to contest the King's right, and defraud the Crown of the timber. The complaint is levelled at the wanton ill-nature of the selection, and the "ungentle" "manly-like" manner in which it was done. There was, however (as appears from this letter), more reason for complaint than is admitted by Pepys: for at the very time the Commissioners sent down a person to mark standing timber for felling, there was a good deal of timber, the property of the Crown, lying on the estate unappropriated, which had been "felled divers years" before; and, till this was used, the felling of other timber there was evidently unnecessary.

assent) have treated with others to take those lands : and I beleeve it will bee more for your availe, to quitt the Parke of him, then to make any new bargaine with him ; the rather, because that house is (now) a coõmon meetinge place for Separatists, and Conventicklars.

There is 40 or 50 tunn of timber (which was felled divers years since) lying in M^r Coopers grounds, and other parts of the Parke. I have directed your Woodward to take a particular note of all those tress, and to marke them upp for the Kinge (whose they are), and not suffer any of the timber, or trees to bee removed, till you give farther order therein. There are severall small beggerly cottages sett vpp (in the troublesome times) in the Parke, by sundry beggerly persons, who (now) dwell in them, and live by spoylinge your woods, and ale-drapings : I intende to order all theire ale houses to be suppressed by the next Sessions, and wish you to take course (by warninge the dwellers in those cottages to p^{ro}vide¹ themselves of other habitations) to have the houses pulled downe. I intend (God willing) to be here againe on the 23^d of this instant, before w^{ch} time I desire to receive your directions in as many of these particulars as you please ; wherein, and in all things else, I shall indeavor to serve you to the utmost of my skill, and approve my selfe, (my Lord)

Your Lo^{pp}s devoted kinsman

and very humble servant,

ROB^t HYDE.

Sarum, 5 Sept^r, 1664.

M^r Io. Doves part is lett to others, and you may not treate with him to breake those bargaines.

For the Right Ho^{ble} Edward Earle of Clarendon,
Lorde Chancellor of England, at Worcester
House in the Strande. These,

Endorsed by Lord Clarendon — " 5 Sep^r. L^d
Ch. Justice Hyde. 1664."

¹ provide.

CLVI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, y^r 9th of Sep. 1664, O. St.

I HAD yesterday a long conference with Dewitt. He still speaks resolvedly as to the sending their fleet for Guiny, but yett would make me beleive that they goe to doe no hurt to y^e English neither in their places nor shipping, but only ag^t such as should or have done them any wrong, to defend what remaines, and regaine what they have lost, and much of this kind, w^{ch} what it meanes, you will easily judge; and I finde that Prince Robert's being to goe doth much nettle them, for that they thinke he will not goe without a good force. Yett lett me tell you, that the ships they send are very considerable ships, and extraordinary well provided, and doe carry the 425 land soldjers, and officers proportionable to them, over and above their full number of marines; so y^t if his Ma^{tie} had but 200 land men, it will beare no proportion; and if ye should be baffled in this business, y^e consequences would be greater then is readily to be apprehended, and it is y^r own fault if ye be over masterd, knowing how and when they goe. And, without peradventure, this their endeavouring by force to right themselves, is an absolute breach, by the State, of their Treaty with his Ma^{tie}; and thereby they lay themselves open, without all pretext of complaint, (if you will husband yo^r business,) to loose the whole coast of Africa, and their Fort at Cape Bona Esperanza also, (if opportunity serve to take it,) w^{ch} is the place where their East India fleet doe constantly refresh. And in my opinion this country could not possiblie have given his Ma^{tie} so great an advantage

for the justifying of himself and his proceedings to all y^e world, as by this their rash and hasty equipping for Guiny—it being so directly contrary to the very letter of the 14th Article.

I had also much discourse with Dewitt about the reglem^t for the future. He did not object ag^t any one Article of what I had given in; withall confessed y^t y^e most of them were very rashonall and fitting, but then added that their intent was not to make any reglem^t for matters out of Europe only, but to have Europe included also. I told him that that was a new matter; that the conference w^{ch} we had had, upon w^{ch} that reglem^t was propounded, had bin only concerning matters out of Europe, nor did my orders goe any farther; and that in former times, as in the yeares 1614 and 1622, Treaties had bin made concerning y^e East Indies only; withall, that y^t of Europe and other parts were of quite a different nature, and so the Treaties about them must be quite different; farther, that as to Europe, there were so many things to be considered, y^t it was impossible in a yeares time to bring it to any issue: yett he continued stiff to what he had said, whereby your Lo^{pp} may see what is like to become of our reglem^t.

It hath bin confidently, this week, sayd at Amsterdam, y^t De Ruither shold have bin privatly ordered a moneth agoe, to goe directly from Cadix wth 8 ships or more, if he had y^m, to Guinee, and wagers offred y^t ere this he was gone, or going; but now y^t report begins to dye: and to be sure no such deliberation hath bin heer in y^e Estats, much lesse resolution taken concerning y^e same. And among other discourse wth Dewit, I asked whither De-ruither would goe wⁿ he had cleaned his ships, or tryed his utmost whether he might cleane y^m or not. He sayd, back to Algiers and Tunis, to ransome their people y^t were yet there. This he sayd to me: but upon all adventures, if it be not already done, I humbly think it necessary, y^t as De Ruither doth marck w^t S^r John Lawson doth, so y^t he

have an eye upon De Ruither, and have orders how to comport himselfe upon all evenements; and y^t his Maj^{ties} Consuls in al y^t part of France, and Italy, and Spain, have also their eye upon his motions, and to give forthwth notice to Lawson as wel as back to England; for if such a thing shold happen y^t he shold go, and y^e other putt to stay in expectance of orders from England, this might cause a great mischief, and they heer have at Cadix and elsewhere thereabouts necessaryes to provide y^t fleet. And I pray, *what if S^r John Lawson should have an order to meete Prince Rupert, therby to make sure worke, and to give out that he were returning home, and not let any about him know y^e contrary till off all land? y^t would putt an immediate end to that busines, if this be practicable, w^{ch} I heer can not speake to, not knowing how he is provided.*

I have just now received their long answer to my last reply concerning y^e ships Bona Esperance and Bonaventure: shal I, according to his Maj^{ties} last orders, declare y^t he *will stay no longer then November?* I shal forbear till y^e return to this letter, and am,

My L^d,

&c. &c. &c.

G. DOWNING.

CLVII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 12 Oct. 64, O.S.

THEY begin now to apprehend that the King of England is in earnest. De Witt asked me if there were no way to accomodate matters. I replied, *yea if he pleased*; and presently

hee fell againe upon y^e busines of Guinee. I replied, as formerly, that we must not begin there, but take things in order as they had happened; and if so, y^t all might be brought to a good end, not otherwise. Now, this is that I desire to know;— Suppose that their stomackes shall come down as to other matters, how far shall I go therein? or otherwise it is impossible for me to do any 711, and whatever is done with these people, as I have alwayes found by experience, must be done in a lump and in a moment: and what say you also as to y^e business of New Netherland? and I pray lett me have an answer hereto by y^e first. These of Holland doe much whisper about Colonel Killegrew, and as if hee should have some little comission from De Witt.

CLVIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to SIR GEORGE DOWNING.

[From the Bodleian Library. A Copy in the handwriting of Lord Cornbury.]

8^{ber} 28th, 1664.

Sⁿ,

I HAVE recd yours of the 21st, and have seene both yours to the Secretarys; and though I am very glad to finde any temperate and sober considerations, w^{ch} dispose that people to peace, I wish they had entertained it sooner, for I scarce see time left for such a disquisition as is necessary. They have too insolently provoked the King to such an expence, that fighting is thought the better husbandry. Methinks they should by this time have found, that threatening is not a good preamble to a Treaty with our Master; and they have no reason to imagine that his Ma^{ty} will ever invite them to a Treaty, by promising to deliver

¹ Sic.

any places back to them, especially those, w^{ch} in truth doe of right belong to him, and have been only usurped by them; for they have no colour of right to pretend to the¹, nor is our possessing that, the least violation of the Treaty; w^{ch}, upon examination, will be most manifest.

If all other matters were well adjusted, I doe in my owne judgement not make any question of the redelivery of Cape de Verte; for it was taken without any authority, and without any shadow of justice, and if they would have had the patience to have stayed till Holmes had returned, I doe verily beleve they would have seene him punished; and the place must have been delivered: but their imperious way of demanding it, without suffering any examination, was not to be endured. If they doe really and heartily desire a peace, they will keepe their fleetes within their harbours, and spend this winter in making cleere and franke overtures; but if their fleete come out, nothing but a miracle can prevent fighting, for we are angry and loath to be mocked after all this preparation: and this is all I can say to your Cypher.

I do not understand the expedient M^r De Witt mentions to be proposed by you; nor is it possible for us here, without full reflections upon all the pretences, to pitch upon any sume of money. You can with more ease make that computation: but sure now no such particular can arise from us, of which they might make what ill use they please: but if they make any categoricall propositions, and no ill accidents intervene, before an answer can be returned, I shall doubt not but the King will be perswaded to reason, and will be willing to accept such conditions without a warr, w^{ch} must be the hoped conclusion of a warr.

I doe confesse I do not, nor ever did, thinke that De

¹ The word omitted here is not legible, but the context shows that Lord Clarendon was alluding to the New Netherlands. — See also Letter clvii.

Ruiter was gone to Guinny, but the Duke doth still beleeve it; and it is a marvellous thing that they there can please themselves with an opinion, that our apprehension that he is gone, can dispose us to anything but indignation; therefore they are not wise in letting us beleieve that, if it be not true. If P. W^m miscarry, it will make great change in their militia, and I know not who will succcede in Frize and Groningen. I dare sweare Coll. Killegrew hath no such power. God keepe you, and,

Sr,

Your, &c.

Worcester House, this
28th 8^{ber}, 1664.

CLIX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, y^e 4th of Nov. 64, O.S.

HAVING yo^{rs}, I sent to Mons^r De Witt to give him a visitt; but he would come to me. I explained myselfe to him att large according thereunto, backing what I said with many reasons, w^{ch}, wth replyes and rejoinders, made it a conference of above 2 hours long. In fine, *he was not so hot as to y^e restitution of Cape Corse and New Netherland*, and I beleive that that *difficulty might be surmounted*; but as to y^e *reglement*, still he would have it *for Europe alsoe*: yett even as to this, I doe not finde but y^t possitively *something might be done*. But when we came upon the bussiness of *satisfaction for damages*, as to this, indeed, *he sayd that* indeed he would be content to give it, but alwayes understood that the like be done, as he sayd, to them; and so in truth, as I finde by the story, he would give just nothing. To w^{ch} I replied, y^t I had

otherwise understood his paper, and that y^e meaning thereof had been to haue spoke nothing of their pretences, but seeme grosse¹ to have given a sume; and that if his meaning were otherwise, that there was then an end of that paper, and of all Treaty thereupon.

I told him of the hurt that the beleefe or doubt of *De Ruter's* being gone to *Guinne* did doe: to which he replied, y^t as to that he should say no more then he had done; and that if we did beleefe it, that notwithstanding what I had said to y^e contrary, that he did not thinke that that beleefe could do any hurt. Discoursing how they have forced his Ma^{tie} to arme to that degree he had now done, and to make so considerable an expense, he said that they had not putt y^e King thereupon, but that themselves had bin forced to do what they did by y^e crie of y^e Parliam^t ag^t y^m. To which I answered, that he knew very well that y^e Parliam^t crye could not hurt y^m; that they had seen how temperate and friendly an answer his Ma^{tie} had given thereunto, and that he would first cause matters to be examined, and reparations sought in a friendly way, by me here att y^e Hague; that he could not be ignorant that his Ma^{tie}, to verifie his peaceable intentions, did not begin or take in hand any extraordinary equippage; moreover, to putt y^m out of all apprehension, y^t I did assure y^m, in a publicke conference, y^t his Ma^{tie} would not attacque or trouble their fleete, which they then expected from y^e Streights, and y^e East Indies: yet, notwithstanding all this, and without any shadow of reason, they immediately sent three or foure hundred carpenters to worke upon their shipping, night and day, Sondays as well as working dayes. Moreover, as to their letter that they wrote to his Ma^{tie}, that if he would keep his fleetes in harb^r, that they would doe y^e like, it is to be observed, that before they writt that letter, they had actually sent

¹ Sic. . . .

out a fleete of 16 or 17 men of warre to the Northward ; w^{ch} was, in truth, a greater strength then his Ma^{tie} had, at that time, in all, in readiness in these seas ; and yⁿ they tell him, y^t if he pleased to keep in his fleet, they would keep in theirs. So that, in truth, it was no better yⁿ a mere mockery.

Then he said that he very much wondred y^t his Ma^{tie} should take in so ill part their instructions to Van Campen. I replied, y^t I beleive y^t no Governm^t in y^e world, that was able to take it ill, but would doe it, to be menaced in that kinde, and contrary to y^e Treaty, and all right and rule ; and that, in truth, it was an affront of y^e highest nature. But, said, he, y^e King had taken Cape Corço and New Netherland by force, without so much as saying a word to us ; and y^e orders for the doing thereof appeare to have bin given before our arming here, and so cannot be grounded upon that.

As for New Netherland, I replied, y^t his Ma^{tie} did not looke upon himselfe as obliged to give y^m any account of what he did in relation thereunto, for y^t he did not looke upon them as att all interested therein ; no more yⁿ he should thinke himselfe obliged to lett them know his mind, or to have their consent, in case he should thinke fitt to proceed ag^t any Dutch y^t live in y^e Fenns in England, or in any other part of his dominions, of which he always understood y^t land they call New Netherland to be a part. And as to Capo Corço, I told him that he could not but remember that a yeare agoe, in a conference wth y^e Deputies of y^e Estates Geⁿä^ll, and in another presently after in y^e Estates of Holland, I had att large debated wth them y^e businesse of Capo Corço, shewing y^m that that place did of right belong to his Ma^{tie}, and not to y^m, w^{ch} was notification enough. But, said he, you did not demand restitution thereof. To that I answered, because it was to no purpose to do it ; for if, in so many yeares, we have not bin able to get right in any y^e least matter of violence

offered by y^m to the English, in relation to any single ship, or parcell of goods, or y^e like, how could it be expected y^t we should be able to prevaile wth them in a business of that importance? And his Ma^{tie} would be justifiable before all y^e world, in taking this course in this business upon that account; and that he could not but remember y^t y^e French King had taken y^e like course in relation to Cayana, and yett they never so much as offered to complain thereof.

When Mons^r De Witt was last wth me, it was agreed between us, that before y^e going away of y^e post I should give him a visitt to see if he had any thing farther to say to me; and, accordingly, I have bin this afternoon wth him; *but insteede of advancing, I found him recoyling. He sayd, that as to anything of a sune of moñey, that he judged y^t their pretences would ballance, and so y^t y^t buisness was to be left; — that as to New Netherland, that it must be restored; — that as to Cape Corse, that because y^e title was more disputable, y^t they would be content if it were slighted, and so left free to both to trade there.* This was in some¹ what he said; withall adding, y^t he thought y^t it was a very great condescension in them to yeald so farr, and desired I would make it known to the King; w^{ch} I said I should, but that I beleevd it would be very far from giveing him satisfaction.

¹ sum.

CLX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, y^e 25 Nov. 64, O. S.

THIS morning Van Beuningen hath bin wth me, to take his leave of me, and lett me know y^t he intends to begin his journey this afternoon or tomorrow; and withall, y^t by his instructions he may pass from France into England, according to y^e occurrences of affaires. All their hopes is upon this journey of his, and y^t he shall be able to worke wonders, either by y^e French King to induce his Ma^{tie} to their termes, or to draw y^t King wholly into their party; and they doubt not but to be able, in case matters are not composed, to drive the English quite out of y^e East Indies; and they also make no question, but that all will be settled in Guiny, and those other parts, to their hearts desire, by De Ruyter.

CLXI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, y^e 6 of Dec. 64, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R LO^{PP},
SATURDAY last it was resolved by *De Witt*, with his *Juncto of the States G'rall* (being not above four), that orders be forthwith sent to *De Ruyter*, y^t when he shall have done all in *Guinne*, that he goe thence to *Barbados* and other of the

King of England's Colony's thereabouts, and thence to Virginia, New Netherland, New England, Newfoundland, to take all the ships he can, and do all the mischief he can, and yⁿ to returne home round Scotland wth what he shall have taken.

This intelligence I have from one of my old and constant friends in the States G'rall; and he had it from one of his comrades in the States G'rall, and who is of the same Province, and one of De Witt's Juncto, and who was present with De Witt at the taking of this conclusion.

This friend hath bin absent ever since my last coming over, else I am sure he would in like manner, in time, have found out and acquainted me wth y^e business of the orders for De Ruyters going to Guinne.

No Admiralty knows any thing hereof, but only De Wilda, Secretary of the Admiralty of Amsterdam; and he is to take care that victualls, and all things necessary, be sent him; and he absolutely governes in y^e Admiralty. These orders went hence the same day, and are to be sent to him, for more surenesse, by four severall ships, whereof some to adventure through the Channell, and the rest round Scotland. So if the King doe nothing, you see what a ruine will immediately fall upon all his Colonyes. If he doe send, as I suppose he will, it must be done immediately, and with absolute secrecy, so as y^t there may not be any suspition of the King's sending till the fleete is gone. Lett not the Royall Company, nor so much as any Committee of them, know any thing, nor any of the fleete, but only Prince Rupert himselfe. If any thing is wanting it may be putt on board in a day or to¹, and they not know but that they are only to go a crossing the Channell. In a word, all imaginable is to be done; first, y^t they may be gone before it is imagined y^t they are to goe; and secondly, after they are gone, to disguise the designe whither.

Floswicke of Amsterdam was sent y^e last weeke to Helvort,

to dispatch away the ships of the *West Indy Company* for *Guinne*, wth only the two of *Van Campens* mentioned in mine to yo^r Lopp. upon Friday last: but he returned, and made report yesterday, in the *States G^rall*, y^t he could not perswade the Masters to adventure now round *Scotland*; but att y^e same time some other seamen being called in, and proffering to goe, he was immediately, the same night, sent back with *De Wilda*, above mentioned, to force them out, and not to returne till they be gone. So if *Prince Rupert* make hast, he will very probably be in *Guinne* before y^m; and so they will fall into his hands, wth the four hundred souldiers, and all the provisions and merchandises aboard y^m.

And suppose, when they begin here to take the allarme, *De Witt* would send more ships after; here are only y^e other eight of *Van Campen* in any readinesse; and besides, they would come too late, for y^t the *Prince* would be so much before them; and y^e more, for y^t they also must round *Scotland*, the *King* keeping his fleete yett a while together. And when the *Prince* should have done in *Guinne*, he might on a little further to *Cape Bona Esperanza*, to wayte for their ships from the *East Indyes*.

De Ruyter hath but 12 ships wth him; what he may have taken since I cannot say, but he could gett no more men. It will be of mighty import to fall upon him, before y^e ships and men now going hence come to him.

It will also be very necessary y^t notice be also immediately sent to *Barbadoes*, and all other of the *King's Plantations*, to looke to themselves and their shipping.

It will be also very good, while this is doing a little, to open all letters from *Portsmouth* and those parts, whereby to hinder y^e giving any notice to *Van Goch*.

One thing, by the way, give me leave humbly to hint; w^{ch} is this, — that when *Van Goch* comes to the *King*, he is wont presently, for y^e most part, to give him his answers, y^e w^{ch} doth but so much y^e more forward their business here; whereas the *States G^rall* take always a very long time

ere they give any; and it many times falls out, in y^e mean time, by some imergent accident or change of affaires, they see occasion to *vary* from what they would have bin if they had bin *presently given*. Moreover, when *the King deales frankely*, as in y^e business of *Cape Corse* and *New Netherland*, supposing y^t *ingenuity* might worke something *with them*, on y^e contrary, they only make use thereof to *irritate the people against him*, and to make *the King the aggressor*, and thereby y^e more to *worke upon the K. of France*, and to *declare for them*; whereas, on y^e contrary, they will never owne any thing, y^e *avowing* whereof may in any kind make *against them*: and therefore I observe, that in such cases as now, in y^e business of the *Sweedish ship for London*, they give *no answers at all*; and if att last they do give any, it is merely uncertaine and dubious, so as y^t nothing is to be built upon it. And you see, in y^e business of *De Ruyter's going to Guinne*, wth what *dissimulation, and lying, and cheating*, they *kept it up*; and when *Van Goch* went last to *M^r Sec. Morice*, to informe himselfe of him about y^e business of y^e *seizing their ships*, if he had *fayned the ignorant*, whereby y^t he had not bin able y^t *night, as he did*, to give a certaine *account* thereof, and y^t, as his *letter sayd*, by information from one of y^e *Secretarys of State*, the *rich fleete*, yⁿ ready to *sayle out of y^e Texell*, had certainly *fallen into the King's hands*; nor had *posts* bin sent so soone into *Spayne, Italy, &c.*, to give notice to their *ships to keepe in*. I give this only as an instance. So now, y^t he hath *orders to demand of the King whether he intends to give out letters of mart against them*; now, if y^e *King, or any of his Ministers*, let fall y^e least word implying it, yⁿ immediately they will *fill y^e sea wth private men of warr*; and y^t, *ex ore vestro*. Is it not much better to *gaine* though but a little time, and lett y^m have the first *notice*, or at least certaine *notice*, of their being *given*, by their *feeling* of y^m? and possibly, in y^e mean time, while they are in some little

kind of *suspence*, their harbours may come to *freeze up*, and thereby severall *months gained*.

Since the writing hereof, *my friend* hath bin againe *with me*, and tells me that he had indeed the first *notice* of those orders for *De Ruyter* from a comrade of his, who was present with *De Witt* at y^e contrivance thereof; but that himselfe was actually present, on *Saturday last*, at y^e finall resolving and passing thereof, and did also, with *De Witt*, give his vote for it; so that this intelligence is past all doubt: and he assures me, that those orders are also since certainly sent hence; and he is a person of whom *De Witt* hath not the least suspicion as to his corresponding with me; but he is a true lover of the *P. of Orange*, and upon that account a hater of *De Witts* his proceedings against the *King*; and if I could make good to him what I formerly promised him, viz. five hundred pounds per annum, I could keepe him here. However, I am sure it is fitt at this time to encourage him, and I cannot, if I do any thing, give him lesse then two or three hundred pounds; and if the *King* do approve hereof, be pleased to take such order as that *Woodroffe* may, instead of y^e order mentioned in mine last weeke for two hundred and fifty pounds, have on order for five hundred pounds.

Moreover, I asked him when he thought that *Floswicke* would be able to gett out the ships for *Guinne*; to which he answered, that he did not beleve that he would be able to perswade them to stir till about full moone, that so they might have light nights; and that in case they did not then goe out, that they would goe also to y^e *Wylingen*, for to goe out with y^e light moone of *January*.

Some here speake very confidently y^t the *King's fleet* may fall upon theirs when in y^e *Wylingen*. It is a businesse worth the utmost and thoroughest examinaçõn. A blow upon them there would be a notable businesse.

They are very fearfull lest the *King* should attempt *Goree Island*, and upon that account do intend to rayse a fort and a block house there.

If the King shall not thinke fitt, in y^e first of y^e Spring, to hazard his fleete upon this coast for to hinder the conjunction of their ships, then surely he will resolve to have, very early, a good squadron about Hisland¹, to snap such as shall attempt that way. And withall, seeing they do draw so many forces to the water side, to consider what places may be most in danger, and particularly y^e Islands of Silly, Wight, and Hisland.

It is plaine y^t y^e reason of keeping up and sending to Wylingen such a number of ships, is to amuse the King, and to keepe you in allarme, and that you may not thinke of their designs against you elsewhere, much less of attempting against, and so in y^e Spring laugh at you.

Would it be amisse, if, when I goe hence, I should make a stepp to the Elect^r of Brandenburg, Duke of Neubourg, Bpp. of Munster, &c. ?

CLXII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 23 Dec. 64, O. 8.

PRINCESSE DOWAGER tells me y^t De Witt, Bevering, and De Grote being together, that it was discoursed amongst them y^t they would yett hold it out against the King of England; and y^t if at last they saw y^t they could doe no good, y^t they would come round together, thereby not doubting but be able to make their peace with him, and so keep still y^e power in their owne hands, to y^e exclusion still of y^e friends of the P^r of Orange.

¹ Shetland.

She told me that the French Ambassador, this last weeke, hath spoken to her somewhat more coldly and dubiously yⁿ formerly, of what the States G^rall may expect from the K. of France. I think it is very advisedly done, y^t the King doe y^m all y^e mischief he can, butt yet not declare warr; and I am sure y^t this way of proceeding doth extreamly puzzle them. I thinke, also, it is very well done to keep their seamen, and not to lett them come home, but yett to use them very well.

CLXIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 29 Dec. 64, O. S.

I NEED not tell your Lopp. what a noise the business of De Ruyter's success in Guiny hath made here, and how much it hath putt life into y^e co^mon people: on the other hand, those that looke higher and neerer into businesse, say that this doth justifie, beyond all dispute, what his Ma^{tie} hath done here in y^e Channell; yea, that knowing, as they see he did, of De Ruyter's designe, however they here endeav^r to smother it, y^t he could not have done less; and that these people now must justly, by all men, be called y^e aggressors, and the causers of what ever mischief shall follow.

Had (say they) De Ruyter only fallen upon such places as had either bin taken from y^m, and such ships as had done y^m hurt, somewhat of excuse and reason might have bin pretended; but y^e ships he fell upon being such as were newly come from England, and not accessory to any

thing y^t had been done ag^t y^m, and y^t so soon as he had seised y^m, he broake their bulke, and putt all their lading into his own ships, and when as they had not so much as shott a gun ag^t him, and this by a fleet belonging to y^e State itselſe, — for these things nothing can be said.

Mons^r Applebome¹ told me yesterday, in y^e afternoon, y^t he thought y^t this would be y^e welcomest newes in Sweden y^t had come thither in some monthes; for y^t now y^e treacherous and base dealing of this country was hereby so notorious, and y^t they, and not his Ma^{tie}, were the beginners, y^t his Master and his Ministers would not need streining themselves over much to answer y^m, in case they should come to trouble y^m about asking for any assistance upon the account of their Treaty wth y^m.

Mon^r Canizius² also told me, y^e same afternoon, y^t he had very earnestly, by order from y^e K. of Denmarke, but y^e day before Van Breningen went hence for France, asked of him whether De Ruyter were not gone to Guiny, for y^t, said he, y^e Englishe doe at my Master's Court found all they doe upon y^t account; and y^t he did answer him positively y^t he was not gone thither, and y^t he might assure y^e King of Denmarke thereof; but y^t y^e reason why they did not wholly disabuse y^e English in this matter was, y^t their beliefe of his being gone thither might make y^m y^e more inclinable to an accommodation of matters. I asked him whether he had accordingly writt into Denmarke; to which he replied yes, and therefore y^t his Master would be so much the more angry wth them when this newes should come thither.

¹ Swedish Minister at the Hague.

² Danish Minister at the Hague.

CLXIV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, y^e 14th of Feb. 64, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LO^{pp},

THOSE of y^e Admiralty have given in severall advises concerning y^e reglem^t of their prises and capers; and among y^e rest, y^t if any of their capers having 30 guns will joine themselves to their fleet, y^t they shall have each 20 soldjers of y^e Estates put on board y^m, and meintained at y^e Estates charge. Y^e pattents are issued out for y^e drawing together of y^e 4000 soldjers y^t are to be putt on board their fleet at y^e Weylingen. Though they had rather y^e French King would have presently assisted y^m, yⁿ thus spin out time by this Ambassade, yet, notwithstanding, they looke upon it as a good symptome, and w^{ch} will draw more after it; for y^t their Treaty saith y^t an Ambassade shall be sent first, to indeav^r y^e accomodating matters: so, say they, though he doth decline as yet y^e declaring himselfe in words, y^t y^e sending this Ambassade, being in pursuit of, and according to, their Treaty, is a reall declaring himselfe on their side, and y^t they are y^e persons attacqued, and so y^t he is under y^e obligation of y^e Treaty to y^m; and consequently y^t it must bring after it either a peace upon their termes, or y^e giveing y^m succour, and breaking wth his Ma^{tie} upon their account.

It is very good, in case a Yarmouth ship loaden wth herring hath bin taken by a Dutch caper, and sold at Maliga, as is here reported, or thereabouts, y^t S^r Richard Fanshaw should have express orders to reclaime y^e said ship and goods, or satisfaction for y^m, from whoever shall

be found to have bought y^m: one such restitution gained, may be worth millions of y^e pursuite of this warre; and I did get many ships and their ladings, or y^e value, taken from such as had bought y^m, and restored to y^e proprietors, during the late warre wth Spaine, w^{ch} had bin brought in hither by Ostenders.

My Lord Woolen asking Nordwich why they would put such invectives into their late remarks upon my Memoriall, he replied, y^t they were a free people, and y^t, seeing his Ma^{tie} made warre wth y^m, they cared not what language they gave him, or any y^t belonged to him. I have this day given a pass to an English man to goe for England, who is a weaver of camlotts and moohaires. He tells me y^t there are at least 500 weavers of such kind of stuffs, and such as work under y^m, y^t are gone from y^t place for want of worke within these 2 months, some for England, and others for other parts; and y^t their grogrim yarne, by reason of the sinking of y^e ship King Solomon, and y^e stop of y^e rest of their Smirna fleete from Cadix, is risen within this month 24 stivers a pound, w^{ch} is a mighty rise. He saith also, y^t they say weavers doe complaine infinitely y^t their trade is lost; and y^t in a little time, if this warre goes on, and y^t y^e Turkey yarne and Spanish woolles be kept from co^ming in hither, y^t y^t will be but a very thin towne. He saith, y^t he went to Amsterdam to see if any worke had bin had there, but y^t he found y^t y^e most of his trade have left off for want thereof, and are faine to worke at day lab^r, and take on for y^e sea.

By my letters this day from Amsterdam, y^e equipping of their men of warre is still forwarded wth great expedition and heat, and many men dayly come in to take on in their service; but whether they will be able to gett enough, is hardly yett to be judged.

Bewningen¹ writes this weeke, y^t y^e Ministers of the

¹ D'Estrades, in a conference with De Witt, informed him that the King of France complained, "qu'il n'y avoit nul *sécret* parmi eux; qu'en Angle-

French King doe desire him not to press any farther y^e present declaration of y^r King, nor y^e business of any present succour, upon y^e account y^t there is as yett no warre declared, and therefore y^t they should for y^e present content themselves wth y^e sending of y^r Ambassage y^t was going for England — y^t y^e reason why they were unwilling yet to declare themselves farther, was, least matters should be brought to an accomodation between England and this country, and yⁿ upon y^e account of y^r declaration, England sides wth those y^t are agst France; but y^t they doe assure him, wth high words, y^t if y^e English shall reject his indeavr^s for a peace, y^t he would declare himselfe for this country.

CLXV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 24 March, 64, O. S.

D'ESTRADE saith y^t this next weeke he expects his positive orders to goe for England, and yⁿ he would be gone out of hand. He saith y^t he goes as desired thereunto by y^e Estates, but severall of y^m tell me y^e contrary, and y^t they knew nothing of the reason of his going; so y^t it must be all y^e desire of De Witt: and since y^e talke of his going, they

“ terre et en Espagne on avoit eu des copies des lettres que Monsieur Van Beuningen a écrit à Messieurs les Etats, sur tout ce qui s'est passé dans diverses conférences qu'il a eues avec Monsieur de Lionne; que s'il faut rendre les affaires qu'on traite publiques, il faut en même tems renoncer à toutes sortes de Traitez avec eux, n'y en ayant point dont l'exécution ne demande des réserves et du secret.” Lettre du Comte D'Estrades au Roi, le 12 Fevrier, 1665. Lettres du C. D'Estrades, vol. iii. p. 42.

conclude y^e peace, in generall discourse, as good as made; for y^t, they say, he will be sure to stick firme to them, as being in their service, and having particular obligations from y^m, and to be notably rewarded for what he shall doe upon this occasion; and they say y^t he can doe any thing in England; and they make up of these great noise of peace, to fright every body, for having anything to doe wth his Ma^{tie} particularly.

Mons^r Canizius came to me yesterday, to tell me that severall of y^m have bin wth him, to bid him write to his Ma^{tie} to have a care what he did, for y^t they were resolved to take up matters underhand, and y^t they would be revenged upon him to y^e utmost. I told him, y^t all this noise of y^e composing of matters was but aire, and y^t when ever his Ma^{tie} should make it, y^t y^e King of Denmarke might certainly build upon it, y^t he would include him therein. He thanked me for what I said, and said he would write it to Copenhagen this day. It were not amiss y^t both M^r Coventry and S^r Gilbert Talbott were written to, to fortifie these Crownes agst all amusem^{ts} and intentions of this nature. None in y^e world are more inventive, nor more ingenious in improving such things, then these people.

My friend tells me this day, y^t it having bin referred to him and 4 or 5 more, without making any report to the States G^rall, to conclude of y^e rendezvous for the fleete, as also for y^e instruction for Opdam, y^t as to y^e latter nothing is yet done; and as to y^e former, y^t most were for y^e having it held at the Texell for the whole: but De Witt opposed it, because sayd he, of y^e difficulty to gett out but wth an eastwardly wind, whereby they may not be able, upon any occasion, to gett a ship out, it may be, for some moneths together. Whereupon it is resolved that thirty shall rendezvous in the Wylingen under John Everson, and ninety in the Texell; and because y^t their wants head officers at Amsterdam, Opdams and Cortenar's ships shall go from Helvert thither, for to make up that number; and, on y^e other hand, five other shall go from the Texel

to make up the thirty in Zealand. By them they thinke they can make a diversion if the Duke of Yorke come upon their coasts, or if the King of France will joyne with him. This intelligence must be kept with all imaginable secrecy. The orders will be sent tomorrow.

CLXVI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *Original Draught.*]

H.,

THOUGH I perceived that mine was not come to your hands when you writt last, which in course it ought to have been, if the wayes had been open, yet three of yours lye before mee un-answered, — one of the 18th Jan., another of first, and another of the 15th of the last moneth, to all w^{ch} I am now to answere in order. Wee are a little surprised here at our last newes frō Holland, (w^{ch} is seasonable to mention in this place, vpon a clause in your first,) that y^e Envoye of Sweeden hath agreed to release to y^e Dutch not onely Cabo Corso, but y^e whole Sweedish interest and title to the trade of Guiney and y^e Gold Coast : which sure was worth a very

¹ Henry Coventry, at the period of this letter Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Stockholm, was the third son of Thomas, first Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper. After the Restoration he was made a groom of the bedchamber ; in 1661, was elected M. P. for Droitwich : and was one of the select few to whom the management of the business of the Government in the House of Commons was confidentially intrusted. In 1667 he was, together with Lord Holles, one of the Plenipotentiaries appointed to negotiate the Treaty of Breda. In 1671 he was again employed on a mission to Sweden. In 1672 he was made Secretary of State ; which office he resigned in 1679, on account of ill health. He died Dec. 7. 1686. Lord Clarendon says he was "beloved by everybody," and "a much wiser man than his brother" (Sir W. Coventry), "and had a much better reputation with wise men." Cont. of Life of Clarendon, ii. 202. 207. This judgment is perhaps too favourable, and arose in some degree from Clarendon's dislike of Sir W. Coventry, whose ability he nevertheless rates very high.

valuable consideration, and would have been thought so by much better friends.

I presume y^e Secretary hath let you know, long since, *that wee would advance a good rounde sum of money to the Sweades, if they could be engaged in a present warre against Holland, which would enlarge their quarters at Lande very much.*¹ To the two articles to which you would receive some information, I can say no more then *that, as to Mosco, wee have returned nothing by the Ambassadour but resentment that y^e privileges were not graunted to my Lord of Carlisle, nor shall we further importune them with any adresse; but if they shall send a concession of the priviledges to y^e King, as some men beleeeve they will, though in truth I doe not, — I know not how wee can reject them, especially not knowing enough the Sweeds designe, nor what share wee shall have in it; and whilst our merchants did enjoy their priviledges in Mosco, the trade was very considerable: and besides the very usefull cõmodities which were returned from thence, the exportation of our woollen manufacture thither was very considerable.*

To the other pticulare of the Duke of Holstein, methinkes you should *diswade them frō* pressing it; since, in truth, y^e *garanty of the Treaty is a garanty of what concernes him, hee being included in it without any pticular mention of him; w^{ch}, if it can be avoided, wee would willingly decline, both as hee is a Prince wee have no obligation to, rather y^e contrary, and as the mention of him will more trouble Denmarke.*

I beleeeve y^e Sweede will have more cause every day to be *weary of France; and I am perswaded, if the Duke of Newburg were hopefully engaged in the businesse of Poland, hee would finde very many friends; but it will not become y^e King our master, who hath very great kindnesse for the Duke of Newburg, to declare himselfe in y^t point till hee knowes how the designe is laid, and what probability there is of*

¹ No part of this letter is in cypher, but the portions printed in Italics are underlined in the manuscript.

successe : but, without doubt, if any overtures of this kind be made *from Sweeden to y^e King*, there will be a very good answer made to them. Sure there can be no difficulty in settling *y^e trade between vs and Sweedeland, if any man be sent hither well instructed* ; and, in truth, I thinke the Resident here is a person very equall to that province.

Since I writt thus farr, I have received yours of the 22^d Feb., and the Resident tells mee *y^t all thinges are concluded there*, w^{ch} I am very glad of ; and though I might have forborne many of the pticulars w^{ch} I mentioned before, yet, since they were prepared and putt in cypher, I choose rather to transmitt it as it is then to make any alteration. You have done very well *in y^e garranty* ; and you see, by what I have written to you before, how much my owne sense concurred with yours in the point of *y^e Duke of Holstein* ; nor doe I beleeeve *y^t Denmarke will desire to have any difference with y^t Duke*, except *y^e death of y^e Count of Oldenburgh shall administer matter of new discontent* : and I doe confesse to you that apprehension gives me some trouble, when I heare of *y^e Sweedes designe vpon Breemen*, w^{ch} *y^e Dane* will looke vpon as little lesse then taking possession of Oldenberg. There be a thousand reasons why wee should desire *y^t enterprize* should not be undertaken in this conjuncture ; and since they are sure to goe through with it whenever they undertake it, meethinkes they should be prevailed with to deferr it for the p^{nt}¹, which you will endeavour wth all yo^r interest and dexterity ; for it will kindle some fire there, which will trouble our Master's designs. Considering what the King our Master would be willing to advance towards it, *y^e Sweede* may make a more profitable adventure vpon some parte of *y^e States dominions*.

The methode proposed by *y^e Chancellor* towards an improving *y^e friendship between y^e two Crownes*, is, without doubt, *y^e best* ; and if Sir Gilbert² can doe his part with any

¹ present.

² Sir Gilbert Talbot, Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Denmark.

steadyness and discretion, I beleeeve it would have a good success, and then it would *be concluded with all y^e circumstances of honour and convenyence best in England.*

Endorsed by Lord Clarendon — “ Myne to Harry Coventry, 24th of March, 1664.”¹

CLXVII.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT² to THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Coppenhagen, March 25. 1665.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

THIS night Maj^r Wood departeth hence toward England with M^r Coventrys Treaty concluded and signed, which,

¹ 1665.

² Sir Gilbert Talbot was, at the period of this letter, Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Denmark. Lord Clarendon says he was sent there, as being “ acceptable to that Crown, by his having performed many offices of respect “ to the Prince of Denmark, when he had been incognito in England, and “ waited upon him to several parts of the kingdom which he had a mind to “ see, and so caused him to be entertained in several gentlemen’s houses in his “ journey, of which the Prince seemed very sensible when he departed. That “ which was expected from that negotiation, except the confidence could be “ created between the two Crowns, was only to preserve Denmark a friend, “ that he might not favour the Dutch, and might recall all his subjects out of “ their service; and that we might have the same freedom of trade, and the “ security of his ports for our men of war.” — *Cont. of Life of Clarendon*, ii. 318. It appears from the foregoing letter, that Lord Clarendon did not estimate highly the abilities of Sir Gilbert Talbot. Talbot was sent to Denmark in August, 1664, and appears to have been the bearer of the following letter from Secretary Morrice to Hannibal Zeested, a copy of which is extant in the State Paper office: —

“ MY LORD,

“ Those things which your Lordship and I have so often discoursed of — “ a nearer tye between the two Crownes, in the mutuall interests and for the “ better advancement of trade, doe now seeme to be ripened and ready to “ take their desired effect; and this honorable person, Sir Gilbert Talbot, “ Envoye Extraordinary from his Majestie my master to the King of Denmark, is sent to negotiate those affairs that equally concerne both their “ Majesties and the good of their subjects. Your Lordship hath so well “ digested these weighty considerations, and hath evermore demonstrated so “ entire an affection to the English nation, that it seems altogether needless “ to recommend this his Majesty’s Minister unto your kindness and assist-

according to y^r Lo^{pp} directions, he hath freely communicated to me: and (as I am able to iudge) it is a very advantageous Treaty. M^r Coventry hath desired me to acquaint him with the reasons which this Crowne maketh vse of for iustifying of theyre fortification at Christianpries, in Holstein; and to give y^r L^p a copy of it, because he hath sent y^r Lo^p the obiections of Swede against it; and this is the reason that I send y^r L^p the inclosed plea of the Danes, which they promise to fortify by other arguments; and as soon as I receive them, I shall not fail to impart them to y^r Hon^{or}. I know it will be expected, that I should by this time give an account of my negociation here; and I am a little discountenanced, that I have not bin able to doe it before now; but y^r L^p will find, by what these Coñmissioners have hitherto insisted upon, that they are a people full of want; yet would not be known to be soe. Theyre inclinations for you are as strong as theyre interest can oblige them to profess them soe: but theyre condition is soe low, and the discontented spirits among them so many, that the K^s dare not move soe vigorously as his desires lead him. He hath appointed me but two

"ance. Only I must not forbear to acquaint your Lordship, that he hath
 "particular direction and command to make his application to you in all
 "things, and to steere his proceedings by your advice, which as it will be
 "most safe for him to follow, so I am confident it will be alwayes clear and
 "open to him. To give your Lordship the assurance of this confidence of
 "mine, and of my unalterable devotion to your service, is the principall
 "business of this letter. But having this opportunity of writing, I could
 "not but let your Lordship see how much I rely upon your particular friend-
 "ship to mee and my family, and doe therefore recommend the inclosed paper
 "to your perusal at your leisure, and my son (who is concerned in the busi-
 "ness) to your favour, that such course may be taken for his and his par-
 "ticipants satisfaction, as shall seem meete to your Lordships justice and
 "wisdom. But that which I desire with the greatest earnestnesse and impa-
 "tience is, that I may receive your Lordships commands, and thereby the
 "honour of showing my selfe, as I am,

"Your Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

"WILL. MORRICE."

"Whitehall, Aug. 23. 1664."

"To the Lord Hannabal Zeested,
 from Mr. Secretary."

Commissⁿ (Han. Sehested, and y^e Statholder), and will not be persuaded to add any other of his Councell to them, because they are generally enclined to favour the Dutch. Haniball dare not act too forwardly, for feare of the common envy against him: and the Statholder (wth whom the King will doe nothing, not that he buildeth soe much upon his iudgment as his fidelity) can hardly be gott to work: if we have him one day, he breaketh loose 3, and disordereth our busines noe less then himself.

Y^r L^p will find, by my lettⁿ to M^r Secretary Morice, how those Commissioners have struggled about the word *Commeatus*. We discoursed the point yesterday before y^e K^s; and when I told his Ma^{ty} that the 3^d Article of the last Treaty was literally ag^t them, and that the K^s my m^r would think himself vnfriendly dealt with, if, instead of a stricter alliance, w^{ch} he might expect from my negociation, he should find the K^s of Denm^k endeavouring to rescind from the former Treaty, he gave order for a suddaine dispatch of both our Treatys (for we think fitt to divide them, and shall finish that of Co^mmerce first). But, my L^d, as the expressions and promises w^{ch} M^r Secretary Morice made in his Ma^{ty}'s name concerning the warrantye prevailed wth the King to submitt to it, soe, if there should be any departing from that performance (as I have reason to beleive there may be, from what M^r Secret^{ry} writeth me in his letter of the 10th), I cannot undertake for the performance of any promise here; and although you may rationally beleive that it is y^e interest of this Crowne to adhere to you, in regard of y^e slavery they endure vnder the Hollanders, and the redemption w^{ch} you offer them, yet the tempting wayes of y^r enemyes to gain the opinions and affections of a necessitous nobility, and to raise the clamour of an vnquiet people ag^t the counsailes and resolutions of the K^s, may possibly stagger all, if they find you mince y^r promises in a point w^{ch} they hold soe materiall.

The citty of Lubeck having for 20 years called vpon the

magistrates to make theyre accounts, and not obtaining it, are now revolted; have clapped the magistrates in prison, burnt one of theyre houses, fortyfyed all the avenues; and some say Wrangle is amongst them: if that be, I expect noe small complaint here: and I have not iudgment enough to say whether it may serve to hasten my business, or breake it all to pieces: I confess, I feare the less disturbance in it, because I finde the K^e very fast, and I hope to give a speedy and good account of it. In the meane time I humbly desire y^r L^p to esteeme me

Y^r L^{ps} most obedient and faythfull servant,

G. TALBOT.

Endorsed by Lord Clarendon—"S^r G.
Talbot. 29 March, 1665."

CLXVIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 31 March, 65, O.S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LO^{pp},

THE French King^s stopping all y^e ships of this country upon y^e account of y^e 2 ships of their East Indie Comp^y seized by this State and taken into their service, makes, as you will believe, a mighty noise here; this is, say they, y^e giveing us succour y^e quite contrary way. They have written back into France, to justify what they had done, very kindly, in proffering M^r D'Estrade 4 great fluits for y^e French East Indie Comp^y, instead of those two ships of force.

The next week y^e Estates of Holland are to be here, and then we shall see what will be their finall resolution. They say they will never forget this trick of France, what

ever they may out of necessity doe for y^e present, and y^t they will be revenged in time convenient: and, without doubt, there will now need much disputing in France, to prove who is the agressor between his Ma^{tie} and this State.

The preparations for their fleet goe on still amaine: their men of warre fall down every day to y^e Texell and to Helvet Sluce, yet they want seamen: their land men are every day put on board.

They say here, y^t whereas his Ma^{tie} hath given liberty to his subjects to make use of forreign shipping to send to his plantations, and other parts, y^t they will by their capers take any of y^m y^t they shall finde there, or returning, as if they were English shipping; and no doubt they will, especially if they belong to y^e Hanse Townes or any such pedling places. Y^e French and Swedes possibly may be a little more secure; and, indeed, I thinke it were very fitt some publike warning or prohibition were made, y^t none of his Ma^{ty}s subjects do lade any goods in any shipping of the Hanse Townes. They are here much jealous, least, upon this occasion of their difference wth France, his Ma^{tie} and France should strike up some treaty or agreement, in relation to trade out of Europe, to stand by each other.

They have divided their fleet here into six squadrons, viz. y^e 3 Lieuten^t Admiralls of Holland, and y^e Lieutenant Admiral of Zeland, and y^e Lieuten^t Admirall y^t is now for Frise, and Trump the sixth.

Some Deputies of the States Gräff are to goe to Gelder and Owysell, to press the States of those provinces to consent to the severall petitions for mony, for carrying on y^e warr wth England. *My friend tells me that Opdams instruction is pass'd, w^{ch} is only in generall tearmes to fight, attacke, and*
 655 *the English, y^e best they can, according to occasion.*
 Moreover, he hath given me Ameronge's instruction, w^{ch} I

¹ Sic — probably "injure."

shall send you by y^e next. Moreover, he tells me that orders are resolved to be immediately sent to their fleete at Cadiz to cruize in y^e Streights mouth, for to inco^modate Tanger what they can, and, to stop provisions going thither; and, if possible, to indamage y^e Mole there; and to wayte for any shipping going that was from England. So it is good to consider whether Lord Bellasis be strong enough to fight them. Moreover, he saith y^t he knows not of any designe formed for landing in any part.

I am, my Lord,
Y^r Lo^{pps} most obedient humble serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

CLXIX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 7 Aprill, 1665.

SINCE y^e w^riting hereof, I have spoken with my friend: he tells me y^t y^e five men of warre y^t were to have gone from the Texell, are remanded back to y^e Texell; for y^t there were two men of warr at the Wilingen more yⁿ was thought of. He sayth that he goes next week with De Witt to the Texel; y^t their commission is indefinite, absolutely to dispose of the fleete, and to doe the King what hurt they can by land or sea; but yet that there is no designe formed for landing in any place, nor materialls putt on board in order thereunto. When I goe hence I cannot yet contrive how to settle a correspondence wth this my friend. I shall try what can be done. He is willing, if we could but think of y^e way with safety.

CLXX.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, 11th of Aprill, 1665, O. S.

My friend is this day early gone towards the Texell. He was with me last night about twelve of the clock, and told me, that advice being come hither from the Admiralty of Amsterdam, y^t they beleived y^t about this time there were about sixty men of warr come to the Texell; that the States G^rall have ordered him and his comrades, that so soone as there shall be compleate sixty in the Texell, and though but reasonably manned, yett y^t they shall out of hand comānd y^m to put to sea, without staying for y^e rest, or for the rest of their men; and y^t they doe either so order it as y^t John doe putt out at y^e same time, and so to meete one another upon the way, or else y^t they doe goe quite on to the Wylingen, whether they shall judge best; and if they goe to the Wylingen, then more men can be sent to them within land: soe, if the Duke come not to this coast very quickly, those in the Texell and those in the Wylingen will be joined.

My friend hath promised me, if possible, to write to me from the Texell; and considering of how much importance it is that the King know truly at this time their counsell, makes me a little delay my stirring hence, though I am very sensible, y^t, as in relation to my selfe and family, it is more yⁿ time I were hence. I pray lett the King know what is above; but withall I need not adde what secrecy is necessary as to what ever I write to you as from my friend.

CLXXI.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, y^e 14 Aprill, 65, O.S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOrd,

YESTERDAY was read in y^e States Geñall a letter, said to be from Valkenberg, and dated at Castel delmina in Guiny, y^e 4th of Oct. N.S. wherein is written that strange cruelties should haue bin exercised by the English upon y^e Dutch in those parts: and though no body knows of any ship come hither from Guiny, and y^t y^e date speaks it almost impossible to imagine where it can haue bin all this while, and y^t the Presid^t of y^e States Gräff himselfe confessed to me y^t he knew not what hand brought him y^e letter, so y^t there is great reason so believe y^t it is a letter invented and written here, yett it was immediately ordered to be printed, for to exasperate y^e minds of men; and copies thereof are to be sent to y^e Dutch fleete, to be read to all y^e seamen, for to encourage y^m. It speaks of frying Dutch men by y^e fire, and cutting of y^e noses and ears of others, and strange stories of this kind. It were very good y^t something were drawn up as from Captaine Holmes, and printed and published, to disabuse y^t worke.

This day, Min heer Merode and y^e rest of y^e Deputies of the States Geñall y^t are to goe to y^e Weylingen, to y^e fleete there, are departed hence; and all possible and imaginable industry is used to gett men for their fleet, w^{ch} yett come in very slowly. Yesterday was published a placart annulling all contracts and agreem^{ts} between any merchants or masters of ships, and any coñon seamen y^t should haue bin in-gaged by y^m upon y^e account of any merchants voyages

whatsoever. Moreover, such of their Captains as doe want men, doe goe to and again to all fishing townes, to trye to gett men there; and tis not to be imagined how infinitely high all sorts of people are, as if they had victory in their lapps; and y^e Comand^r of their fleete say y^t they will not make any long business wth their great guns, but clap board and board, and conquer or be conquered; and especially they threaten to doe this to y^e Dukes ship, and other principall ships; for they say they know y^e English ships are stronger yⁿ theirs, and so y^t they will be too hard for y^m at a distance; but they think they shall be better man'd, and have more experienced seamen and more musqueteers, and so better at a close fight; and, as I formerly wrote, all their land men have good new hangers.

Obdam hath notified to the States Gefäll, y^t he intends to be goeing hence to morrow towards the fleet. The Prince of Orange hath sent his coaches to lye in y^e way between this and y^e Texell, yett severall of y^e Estates doe not shew any satisfaction or good liking of his goeing; on y^e other hand, no doubt, if he should goe, he would be put upon drinking y^e prosperity of y^e fleet, and such kind of things as his Ma^{tie} would have no great excuse to be over satisfied with. By my letters this day from Amsterdam, there were, yesterday, great numbers of seamen at y^e East India House, to take on in their service for y^e fleete at 16 and 18 gilders p^r month; so y^t they hope in a short time they shall have their number. Moreover, a friend of mine come thither from the Texell, saith, that he told above 50 men of warre in y^e Texell, and y^t he saw above 20 at a place not farre from thence.

I am, my Lord,

Yo^r Lo^{pp}s most obedient humble servant,

G. DOWNING.

Herein inclosed is one of y^e letters from Guiny. I have said to severall y^t have spoke to me about it, y^t

I would venture any wagers y^t no such thing hath bin done by Captaine Holmes or any under him; and y^t if any such thing were, y^t it will be found to have bin done by y^e Natives. It is most necessary y^t Cap^t Holmes be examined, and y^t upon oath; and that something be out of hand published, to disabuse y^e world, and a copy thereof sent to me. Y^e ship y^t should have brought these letters, is said to have come to Nant.

CLXXII.

THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY TO THE LORD
CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Stockholm, Ap^l 19. St. V. 1665.

MY L^d,

I HAVE wrote to yo^r Lopp. before what I founde *were the impediments*—the not being assured of *Denmark*, which is absolutely necessary, of which more hereafter; *likewise of Brandenburg*. They seeme *not pleased with the sum proposed*, as I wrote before to M^r Sec^y. Be pleased, when you send instructions, to advise how much, at most, you will advance, and I shall endeavour to gett it as much cheaper as I can. The Lord Chanc^r declared y^t it would be *reasonable the King our master would*, before the end of the *treaty*, intimate to Sweden how farre he would press Holland before making peace with them, because, though Sweden judged it very convenient and *just that Holland should be thoroughly humbled, and made make amends for injuries and insolence committed, yet that it was not the intent of the K. of England or Sweden that Holland should be totally undone*; and therefore it is here *judged fit that some general conditions should mutually be specified, beyond which they should not be*

obliged to *press for to ruin them*, so far as to *force them to put themselves under the King of France or Spain*, which mought be very prejudiciall to the *Protestant interest*; but as to anything within that, *Sweden was very willing*, both as to *their giving satisfaction for what is past*, and *securing them for the future*.

I shall now, according to my promise, entertayne y^r Lopp. somewhat concerning the *K. of Denmark*. I hope you know *his intentions* much better than I doe; but, by all I can as yet discover, he is either not resolved, or not for our advantage. The *Danish Resident*, as I wrote in my last dispatch, is gone to *Denmark*; but before he went, he came and complayned to me that the *ministers here* would not open themselves to him; that he has informed his *Master* how well this Court desired to be with *Denmark*, and that therefore his *Master* had given him leave to come home to advise about it, and that he should not bee able to offer any thing in order to that affair. At the *Danish Resident's* entreaty I went to the *Chancellor*, who told me the manner the *Danish Resident* made many interrogations what *Sweden* would do, in case *Holland* should make void the *Treaty of Elbin*. The *Chanc^r* replied, when that happened, it would be time enough for them to resolve, at least to informe his *Master*. The *Dan^h Res^t* answered, that there needed no reserve between them in this matter, *Sir G. Talbot* having read the whole *Treaty* betweene *Eng^d* and *Sweden* to his *Master*. Hee answered, that they were not acquainted with *Sir G. Tulbots* actions; that since hee told them they knew the *Treaty*, he hoped hee would likewise tell how the *K. of Denmark* liked it. Hee said he had no orders concerning that, but believed well. The *Chanc^r* asked him whether *Sir G. T.* had concluded any *Treaty* with *Denmark*. He answered, he was not informed; but, however, he supposed there was reason for the two *Crowns* to treat, without considering that; for hee thought it prudentiall, in this conjuncture, for both *Crowns* to put themselves in such a posture that theye privi-

leges in the Baltic might bee preserved, without fearing either party, though victorious. *The Chanc^r asked if he had order to say this.* He said, no, it was but discourse. The other said, till hee could inform him what friendship his Master had or would make with England, Sweden would say nothing. In conclusion, all the Danish Res^{ts} discourse seemed to him to make a Treaty particular and independent of England, and this seemeth an effect of the *Fr. Ambⁿ* being returned; for, being treated by the French Resident at Copenhagen, hee beganne a health to the joining of the three Kings. Other Ministers being there, Hanibal Zeestadt asked, Why not four? viz. the K. of England. *The French Amb^r answered, " Il pese trop."*

CLXXIII.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Hague, y^c 28th of Aprill, 1665, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r LOPP,

MONS^r APPLEBOME having received orders from Sweden to demand an audience of y^c States Geñäfft, and therein to press y^c setting at liberty in this country, he did accordingly yesterday demand y^c said audience; but withall, having underhand lett some of y^c States know to what end he did demand y^c same, y^c same morning they sent y^c Agent De Heyde to him wth a resolution granting y^m all liberty to goe out. They say y^t they will prohibit y^c selling of any merchants ships or others to any nation dureing y^c warre wth England; for y^t they say they see y^t France and Sweden, in a spetiall manner, doe indeav^r to serve themselves of this occasion for y^c advancing their own navigation.

The takeing of y^e 3 Zeland capers hath a little snub'd the forwardness of y^e Zelanders; yett, hearing y^t there are a great many English merchants ships returning from Barbadoes, Virginia, and other his Ma^{ty}s plantations, they hope they shall gett a considerable number. I hope they have, long ere this, orders to returne in comp^{ies}, and not scattering, and y^t some care will be had of y^e mouth of y^e Channell.

Mons^r D'Estrade runs to and again into all comp^{ies}, to assure y^m of y^e good intentions of y^e King his Ma^{ty} towards this State, and y^t he will help and assist y^m, if they will but have a little patience, and not spoile all wth their overhastiness and jealousie. There hath bin also some talke of y^e French King's procuring a cessation of arms, whereby they may gaine this summer, fall to their fishing, gett in y^e fleets which they expect from Spaine and y^e Streights, and those w^{ch} are upon their way from France round Scotland, and their East India fleete, and gett De Ruyter home wth y^t considerable strength and body w^{ch} he shall have wth them, and gett their new great ships built; and in y^e mean while his Ma^{tie} waste himself to nothing, and his seamen loose their hearts.

CLXXIV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, 9th of June, 65, O. S.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r Lord,

ALL y^e business here is to make y^e people believe y^t y^e English were so unreasonable in their demands, before their obtaining of this victory, as that it is rediculous to thinke

now of any thing of peace or accomodation wth them, but y^t every man must lay out himselfe to y^e utmost to gett their fleet wth all imaginable speed to sea againe. And they say all positively, y^t for certain all their ships, except 16 or 18, are come into their harbours, and very few of them shattered or disabled, and not above about 400 men killed in all those y^t are come in; and y^e reason thereof, they say, is, because y^e English plyed in a manner all their shot at their masts, sails, and rigging, w^{ch} they much wondered at, and condemne as rediculous: whereas they say that they shott still at y^e hulls of y^e English; and that, therefore, they beleive that they have killed more of y^e English yⁿ y^e English of y^m, setting y^e ships y^t were blowne up aside; so y^t all these ships y^t are come in will be (they say) in a few weeks, at farthest, in condition to putt to sea againe, and y^t a few men will serve to supply y^e places of such as are killed and wounded in y^m.

And besides y^e mony w^{ch} De Witt hath carried to y^e Texell for y^e rewarding of y^e Captaines y^t tooke y^e Charity according to their placart, they say y^t they will advance and reward all y^t they finde to have done well; and, on the other hand, proceed wth such rigour ag^t such as shall have misbehaved themselves, as that none shall dare to doe soe any more, But, by what I can heare of the comport^{mt} of their men, if they should be as severe as they threaten, they had need to send to Norway for wood to make gallowses. John Erreson is sent wth a guard to y^e Texell, where they say they will trye him by a councell of warre; and I doe not see how they can compose that councell but of such as did behave themselves much worse than he. And, for Trump, of whom they have made so much talke, he never changed his ship, nor was y^e hull of y^t ship he was in shattered, only his sailes and rigging, and 18 men killed. And having thus all their chief officers killed or disgraced, where others will be found to supply their places I doe not yett see; though they speake very highly, and

much discourse y^t now, without all dispute, some of y^e Estates shall goe out wth their fleet to have y^e principall direction of it; and there are not wanting, that talke of making De Witt Lieutenant Admirall.

They say y^t Trump, and those ships that fled wth him, lay 3 houres wthout y^e Texell for want of water to gett in; so y^t, had the English persued their victory close, they must have run their ships on ground, or quitted y^m, and yⁿ they should not have bin able to have made another fleet, God knows when. They say also, y^t if y^e English would have adventured to have boarded their ships in y^e pursuite, they might have taken a great many of them; and they mightily brag of that, and y^t y^e English dare venture no further than their great guns.

One Captaine Terslong, Co^mand^r of y^e ship Gonda of 56 guns, at the beginning of the fight putting out y^e bloody flag, all his seamen and soldiers came to him as one man, and told him, y^t unless he would putt out y^e Princes flag they would not fight a stroke; and he was faine there-upon to take down the bloody flag, and sett up y^t of y^e Prince. This I heard from a gentleman y^t was a voluntier in y^e said ship: and y^e like hapned in some other ships. They say also, y^t upon y^e Friday there was nothing done; and y^t y^t night one of their branders by some accident fell on fire, w^{ch} putt their squadrons into some little disorder, every one endeavouring to gett farthest from her.

Wednesday last, y^e drums beating in Leyden for more men in y^e name of y^e States Gef^äll, the women got about y^e drums, and cut y^m in pieces, crying out “Y^e Devill take y^e States;—beat for y^e Prince of Orange.” Some of y^e Co^mand^{rs} of some of their ships are said to be run away from y^m since their coming in, for feare of being questioned by a councill of warre for their cowardise.

The loss of Cortenaer is mightily lamented; but for Obdam, though he behaved himselfe wth so much resolution, and sealed it wth the loss of his life, yett they hardly

give him a good word. They attribute y^e loss of this battle mainly to y^e English their haveing y^e wind of them; and they say, y^t if ever they should come to fight againe, and have y^e wind of y^e English, they doubt not but they should give a better account of it, for y^t they would not content themselves wth shooting at a distance, but trye what they can doe by boarding: they say also, y^t by reason y^e English had y^e wind, their fire ships did serve y^m in no stead.

Orders are given for a great number more of brass guns: he y^t cast y^m at the Hague hath, within these 3 dayes, rec^d orders to make 20 more great ones. The people speak extraordinary differently concerning y^e comportm^t of those in y^e ship Charity y^t was taken. Every body confirms that there are 60 saile of their men of warre come into y^e Texell, and 15 or 16 into y^e Vlye, besides about 9 into y^e Maes; and y^e great ships now building att Rotterdam, and y^e 3 great ones lately launched at Amsterdam, will be very suddainly ready to joine with them; and y^e hopes y^t their fleet will be suddainly againe at sea hath already raised y^e East India actions againe from 336 to 348; and it is most certain y^t De Witt, and y^e rest of y^e Deputies at y^e Texell, will straine things beyond imagination to have their fleet immediately at sea againe; and I doe earnestly pray y^t you will be pleased to take y^e measures accordingly, and y^t y^e Duke's fleet, w^{ch} they say is still upon y^e coast, may not only not be weakened on any pretence or imagination whatsoever, but, on y^e contrary, strengthened by y^e addition of more ships — and I hope of y^e Souveraigne among others, whereby this great and seasonable victory w^{ch} is gotten, may be maintained and made good.

And if, over and above all this, a dozen saile of good ships, and good store of private men of warre, could be provided to lye about Hisland ¹, it would be an excellent

¹ Shetland.

service; for y^t they doe now expect home very many rich ships round y^t way from Smirna, Spaine, Portugall, and France; and they say y^t there are some ships among y^m coming from Lisbon, y^t for certain have in y^m great store of diamonds and other riches; and their East Indie fleet is now all speedily expected, and y^e consideration hereof will, you may be sure, putt y^m here upon forcing themselves to gett out their fleet. And withall, galliotts are sent to y^e North of Scotland, to advise any ships y^t they shall meet, in y^e mean time, to turn into Norway and other parts thereabouts; so y^t, unless matters can be so ordered as to have a good squadron lying there, it is to be doubted y^t all those ships will have warning; but not so to mind y^t, as in y^e least to putt y^e fleet in danger, nor to lett it be less yⁿ between 100 or 110 saile of men of warre. What they doe now here, you must looke upon as y^e effect of desperate men; and I pray lett no advice make you beleive or imagine y^t they intend not or cannot gett their fleet to sea againe. So you were told y^e last time, y^t they did not intend to putt to sea nor to hazzard a battle; much less to come upon y^e coast of England to seeke it.

Some volontiers come from y^e Dutch fleet in y^e Texell say y^t they were about 106 men of warre at y^e fight, besides 5 ships or branders; that y^e Deputies of y^e Estates at y^e Texell doe suffer neither seamen, nor so much as any officer, to come on shoare: they say also, y^t y^e ships y^t went last out of y^e Texell did not finde their fleete, nor were in y^e fight, and yet 9 of y^m should have slipped into y^e Texell upon Tuesday last; at w^{ch} there is very much wondering how they should be able to escape in.

There is mighty wishing y^t De Ruyter were returned; both upon y^e account of y^e considerable strength y^t he will bring wth him, and because of his person, now they are in such want of officers. I have a letter from Amsterdam w^{ch} saith y^t they had offered a comãd to Captaine Wil-

kenson, Comand^r of y^e Charity, but y^t he had refused it; and y^t he had 8 of his men wounded, w^{ch} they have putt into an Hospitall to be cured.

Algernon Sidney was for certain, y^e 15th instant, N.S., at Breda, whither he came from Zeland, passing as a French man; but being known by a Lieutenant there, he confessed to him who he was, and y^t he came from Zeland, and intended for y^e Hague; and others of y^t gang are flocking hither. They write also from Amsterdam, y^t they now offer 30 gilders p^r month to seamen there, and 30 gilders advance: cost what it will, they will have their fleet out. The Duke continueing upon y^e coast, it will be difficult for y^e ships w^{ch} came into y^e Maes wth Everson and y^e great ships lately lanchd at Rotterdam to joine wth those at y^e Texell.

Upon Wednesday, the Estates of Holland sent me a resolution of theirs, intimating their having given order to their guards, and other soldiers, to take care y^t no injury or affront should be offered me by any of y^e people.

The Spanish Amb^r hath by his Secretaire demanded a true account from y^e State of y^e battayle, as who desired to write nothing but y^e truth to his master; wherupon they here told him that a pfect narration shall be drawne up, to be sent to all parts abroad. I think it would be very good y^e like were done by his Maj^{ty}^{cs} comãd, with all circumstances.

The great trouble heer is about finding chiefs for their fleet, and about De Ruthers returne, who they feare may be in great want of victuals and other necessaryes, unlesse he have met with prizes to furnish him. Vangoet writes this week, y^t it is sayd at Whitehã that they know whether De Ruthers is gone, but keep it secret.

I am, my Lord,

&c. &c. &c.

G. DOWNING.

Just now is come a gentleman hither, who was yesterday on board y^e Dutch fleet, and saith y^t, for certayn, they misse but 14 ships; y^t on Sunday they were enforced to ryde neer 4 houres wthout y^e Texell, for want of water, so that they might have bin there all destroyed if psued; y^t there is yet a great consternation among their men; y^t 4 of their Capt^{ns} are condemned to be hanged; y^t they have never seen his Ma^{ty}'s fleet since Tuesday; that none in the fleet did so well as John Eerson. All y^e town talk now is y^t Fraunce will now declare for this countrey.

G. D.

CLXXV.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Hague, y^e 23^d June, 1665.

THE Estates Gefäll have written to y^e Deputies in y^e Texell, y^t they do not think it reasonable to inforce Trump to be Presid^t of their councill of warre, but y^t it is enough if he will sitt as a member thereof, and y^t they doe expect that some one of y^e said Deputies should be Presid^t; so y^t De Witt is now like to be Presid^t of y^e councill of warre, which will make him have no small number of enemies more yⁿ he hath already: and upon this account Trump is gone back to y^e fleete, mens minds beginning to be strangely discontented; and they talke at a very strange rate, and very many begin to say that they see they shall never be quiett unless y^e Prince of Orange be reestablished. Y^e greatest in y^e countrey begin to talke this language, and to laugh at all De

Witts actions and proceedings as altogether rediculous; and whereas De Witt and his party indeav^r to hold up y^e hearts of y^e people, wth y^e hopes of assistance from France, many of y^e wiser and sober sort laugh at it as rediculous; and it is ordinary discourse among y^m, y^t France seekes only its own advantage, and not their good; that y^e maine end of y^e sending of y^e late Ambassade for England was not to mediate a peace for y^m, but to sound his Ma^{ty} about y^e business of y^e Spanish Netherlands, and y^t, not having bin able to gaine him to him therein, he would now make y^m here beleive that he intended to do it for y^m; but, say they, its only in hopes to gaine us therein, and not to doe us good: and those things are said, to my certaine knowledge by some of y^e Estates themselves. They adde, that it were madness in y^m to be thus longer led by y^e nose, and not rather indeavour to accomodate matters wth his Ma^{ty}, so as he would be but any thing reasonable at this time in his demands: and these things are said by great ones, and such as I am sure wish a peace. Many doe much undervalue De Ruyter, y^t he came off so poorly at Barbadoes, and that he did not sett y^e ships in y^e road there on fire. Truly, care should be taken for y^e best security that might be, for y^e future, for y^e shipping y^t ride there.

My letters this day from Amsterdam, shew y^t, at this time, nothing to doe there in pointe of trade, nor any mony to be had upon any termes. Their ships under Baneker mett at sea with 6 Danes ships loaden wth masts, pitch, tarre, &c, w^{ch} its beleived were bound for England; but being mett by y^e aforesaid fleete, they gave out they were bound hither, and are brought into y^e Vlye by a man of warre; and if they shall have y^e good hap to gett home De Ruyter and their East India ships, and what also they suppose to be now on y^e way, here will be infinite rejoicing, and it will be a great addition to y^m as well of strength as riches, and there will not lye that necessitie upon y^m to

fight againe this summer; and, on y^e other hand, they will be much better able to doe it if they think fitt.

The East India actions are fallen to 322 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent; and if his Ma^{ties} fleete come abroad, they will fall yett lower. Severall boatsfull of seamen returned yesterday from Amsterdam for y^e fleet, y^t had had liberty to come on shoare for 8 days. Zeland it selfe, y^t hath till now bin always so contrary thereunto, hath now written to desire that there might be a dispensation of trade by Lillo, that so they might drive their trade inward and outward by the way of Ostend. The Estates of Holland promise their consideration upon y^e severall points concerning y^e fleete, about w^{ch} y^e Deputies in y^e Texell have written to y^m, in y^e letter w^{ch} I this day sent to my L^d Arlington; and all their discourse is, that y^e English had no advantage of y^m in y^e late fight, but only in point of y^e wind, and y^e good order they observed for y^e keeping thereof; and that for y^e future they will have a care as to that point, and then doubt not of gaining y^e better. They begin now to speake as ill of Trump, as Trump hath till now spoken of others; and y^t he should have indeav^d to deboise y^e seamen, and so putt y^m upon quitting y^e fleet as he had done himself: moreover, that he should have, underhand, stirred up divers to talke y^t it is necessary that they should have some illustrious person for their Chief, and so to bring in y^e Prince of Orange; and that if he had not resolved to returne to the fleet, they would have clapt him up. They are in debate about y^e sending of severall Comp^{ns} more from y^e sea side towards y^e frontiers, where they now begin to apprehend there is more danger; and y^t they see y^t y^e English will have enough to doe to keep y^e sea, and y^t they need not feare their invading of y^m at land.

By y^e letters of Monday last, arrived from Van Goch, he writes y^t y^e French Amb^r keep still y^e same language as formerly; and that this state ought to yeild something to his Ma^{ties} in America, and something in Ginny, and some-

thing in y^e East Indies; w^{ch} vexes y^m to the heart, for y^t they did expect they would by this time have spoken other language. All possible industry is used in getting ready their fleet. De Witt scarce sleeps night or day.

I have y^r L^dships of y^e 16 instant: I shall not fayle to give from time to time y^e best account may be of y^e constitution of *their fleet*. I do weekly send some one to the *Texell*: I have now one there, and one at *Amsterdam*, and to and again in those parts, purposely to sound all y^t come from *their fleete*; and I have written to Sec^y Morice y^t I might have an hundred pounds upon some other accounts; so I desire y^t, in y^e whole, two hundred pounds may be pay'd to Woodroffe, and y^t I may not be putt to y^e charge of a privyseale, but y^t it be payd upon y^e account of contingent charge, by vertue of my privyseale, for my allowance here.

I am also trying w^t I can do to find out w^t *Ludlow* and his complices are doing. For certain, both he and *Sidney* were very lately at *Amsterdam*; and, by *De Witts* advice, they and y^e rest of y^m are scattered for a time severall wayes, to avoyd theyr being too much talked of, and because, as *De Witt* let y^m know, matters were not yet ripe for y^m, by reason of y^e late *defeate*. I have wrought into *Scott his son* by a second hand, for he knows not y^t I know any thing, and he p^mises exceeding fayre, and he is a notable man. I shall see what I can work out. He saith y^t all is yet in theory, but y^t one *Captaine Philips* is sudainly to goe for *England* to sound and prepare humours there, y^t so they may have something of grounded to propose to *De Witt*; and y^t they speeke y^t one *Collonell Woogan*, who I think is one of y^e late *Kings Judges*, shall follow shortly as occasion, and upon summons or notice. They expect several more of their fellows here. I doe already throwe away some money to try w^t this *Scott* can doe, concerning w^{ch} I desire also particular directions and orders: you know, my Lord, y^e difficulty is once to gett into the right

trade. He saith *Ludlow* gives out y^t his intentions for y^e present were for y^e *Spaw*.

I am, my L^d,
Y^r L^{dps} most ob. humble serv^t,
G. DOWNING.

Wⁿ I hear from y^r L^dship about y^t *money*, I shall yⁿ give Woodroffe directions about it. De Ruthers ill fortune at Ginny troubles them most mightily. They promised y^mselves mountaynes of gold by him. Boreel writes, y^t orders were sending to y^e French Kings fleete in y^e Streights to come into these seas.

CLXXVI.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Copenhagen, July 22. 1665.

R^t HON^{BLE},

ACCORDING to his Majestys commands, derived¹ to me by y^r L^{dps} of the xth and 17ⁿ of this month, I have used all means possible to *provide for the great affair, by giving orders to a merchant in Norwegia to send word of the fleet, by an express of De Reuters* (which, for the future, shall be understood by 970,) *coming upon that coast*; and, withall, I prepared a ship to wait at Elsenour, ready, against the good news of his arrival. On Thursday, the 20th, word came from Norwegia to the Court, that he was to be in Bergen (which shall be caractered 853) *within three or foure dayes, with sixty sail in company.* The King of Denmark did give speedy order that I should know it, and gave quick notice thereof to the fleet. Hereupon, the same day I despatched my Secretary by sea to the fleet, with a letter of advice to the E. of Sandwich; because, if I had delayed, the wind mght have arose

¹ Sic.

contrary, and then it would have been impossible to have sent. It is believed they stayed at the Feroe Islands to gather the East Indye fleet, and together joyne all, and attend in Norwecgia till the storms disperse your fleet, or their fleet be able to get out. I pray your Honour lett me have money credit returned speedily, for these things exhaust me totally. This King hath given order to his Governor to shoot only powder at you, soe that you may doe the work with lesse number, and block at the same time with the rest.

We have this day agreed the business of Bergen. I have given my hand that the King of Denmark shall have half, and that England shall ensure him from the revenge of Holland — that the K. of Denmark shall seem to be displeased, and complaine against your Captains.

I am, your Honours
Most obedient and faythfull serv^t,

G. TALBOT.

To the Sec^y of State, L^d Arlington.

CLXXVII.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT TO LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Copenhagen, July 25. 1665.

R^t Hon^{ble},

IN mine of the 22^d, I told your Lordship that I *had concerted* the businesse with Denmark, upon *what termes it is to be done* — that the King of Denmark should share equally of the prey, and that the King our master should secure him from the revenge of the *Hollanders* for protecting them. We have since agreed the manner of carrying the design. The King sends ordre to his Governor how to carry himself; which is, to storme, and seeme to be highly offended, but not to shoote at the *English*, or at least not to hurt or touch them. And I

have, *by consent, written to the Governor of Bergen to take notice of the agreement between us here ; and have enclosed a letter, which he is to send to the Commander in chief of our fleet, from mee, as soon as he arriveth before the port, to acquaint him with what is agreed between us : but it is to be sent as a pretended admonition from the Governor, that he act noe hostility, nor violate the . . .*¹ *contrary to the Treatys between the two Crowns, and he must seem to be very angry when it is done.*

Your Lordship may be pleased to take notice by the way, that *this King was very jealous that this project was but an artifice of mine, to ingage them insensibly to a war with Holland ; so that I was forced to assure them (as his Majesty had formerly made me promise them), that he had no design to embark them, directly nor indirectly, in an offensive war ; for their condition doth not allow it, unless assisted by your money, which you can better employ yourselves.*

CLXXVIII.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. Orig.]

Elægneure, Aug^r 6. 1665.RIGHT HON^{BLE},

ON Thursday, the 4th, I received a letter from *Norwegia, which advised me for sure that De Ruyter was come into Bergen with twenty rich ships. The same day, therefore, I sent Mr. Worden to this place, to go in a small ship which I had provided, to give advice to L^d Sandwich. But the same day came word that an English convoy of 3 frigats is come into the Sound. The merchant ships, which have layne here long in expectation, thall goe back with them tomorrow, if the wind continues good. A Holland ship was dispatched*

¹ Illegible.

away yesterday morning, by the Holland President here, to give advice, I conceive, of theyre coming, that the Dutch may lye for them. The convoy being but of 3 frigats, the Princess, Yarmouth, and the Oxford, *with these I send Mr. Worden to L^d Sandwich, to give notice of De Ruyter, how matters stand. If we loose this occasion, the whole design is lost ; and I shall despair of the Eastindia fleet* (which I pray you cypher at 872), unless I have *two catches sent*, as I proposed in my last. *The French Ambassador now presses to join with France and Holland to force England to peace, and is going to Sweden to persuade as much. I hope he will obtain there as much as here.*

I am,

Your L^{dps} most obedient and faithfull servant,

G. TALBOT.

CLXXIX.

LORD HOLLIS to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Paris, 11 August, 65.

I WAS yesterday at Colombe to take my leave of the Queene, who is gone allready towards Bourbon this very wett morning. The King came thither whilst I was there, and at last gave me a little salute with his head ; and trewly, my Lord, I answered him with just such a one, because I know his Ambassadors in England are accueillies in an other manner. I did, before him, entertain myself all the while with the Prince of Conde, who is very hearty and very affectionate in all that concerns his Majesty ;—but all this is but by the way. The busines is, that the King and Queen went alone into the bedd-chamber, and Madame sometime after, where they were at least an houre. At last they came out, and the King went away ; so I entertained

the Queene afterwards, and took the boldnes to aske her how she found things. She said they had been within all the while talking of these businesses with Holland, and that the King had told her, that he had made the King his brother some propositions, which were very fair ones, and such as he thought he would not refuse; but that, if he did, he must then take part with the Hollanders. I asked the Queene if she knew what these propositions were, which she said she did not; and it seemed strange to me that the King kept them from her: but perhaps he did not, and she did not think fitt to acquaint me with them.

What to say to these things I know not, but still I am of the same opinion; and, perhaps, as the old saying is, not a whitt the sooner for a hasty word. All may be but grimace, to see if wee will be frighted; and yet I doe beleive this judgment of the plague upon us setts them up a little higher, and Ruyters returne addes to it, for I have of late observed some change.

CLXXX.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT TO LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Copenhagen, Aug^t 15. 1665.

THE Comm^{rs} have just now sent to me, and told me sad news. The Earl of Sandwich came neare Bergen with his fleete, the 30th of the last. On the 31st he sent Sir Tho. Tiddiman with 17 frigats and 3 fire ships to the mouth of the harbour; on the 1st of August he entered, without striking sayle, with a letter to acquaint the Governor what his order was, viz. to seize the Holland fleete. Answer was made him by letter from the Commandant (Sitsignon), the copy whereof I have seen, that he hoped he would not vio-

late the port, contrary to the Articles of peace. Tiddiman, writt a 2^d letter, sent by the E. of Sandwich his sonne, who pressed the Commandant by word of mouth, offered him the Garter, and greate rewards, &c. He replyed, he was a person of honour, and could not betray his trust. Mr. Montague proceeded to threats; and he answered, he must then defend himself the best he could: withall he desired him *to expect but two days, assuring him that within that time he should have order from the King what to doe. It was agreed to expect.* The next morning Sir Tho^r Tiddiman gave a volly at the Holland ships, another at the 2 forts, and 2 at the Castle, dismounted guns, killed and wounded many, and attempted to land men in long boats. Then (sayth the Commanders relation) the Castle shott,—wounded our ships; 1 frigot ran aground; 2 very sorely bruised; the rest slipped theyre cables and put to sea. They wrote that 2 persons of quality are killed, whereof they suppose one to be my Lord Sandwich his sonne. The messenger who was sent with this news *met the courier who went with the order*, within 5 leagues of Bergen. If our fleete *was not separated, the matter might be yet repaired*; if not, I feare it may make such disorder as may endanger the whole fleete, if the Hollanders meete us with theyres, which is gone fresh out.

CLXXXI.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. Orig.]

Copenhagen, Augst 19. 1665.

I was yesterday *with the King to discourse the matter.* He sayd, that after agreement made, to leave 6 frigatts at the mouth of the harbour, to keep in the Hollanders *till the order came*, the Captain made 200 shott at the Castle, before the Governor would fire a gun—nay, he hung out his

white flag; but all would not doe. This is theyre account; and we have not yet heard what our friends can say. The next day after the frigatts drew off, which was the 3rd, the Governour caused all the ankers to be taken up, and sent to the fleete, and he sent out men to help off that frigatt which ran upon the rock: soe that I hope the losse will not appeare to be greate, except of the prey, and somewhat of reputation. And if the Admirall had the good luck to *tarry till the fourth, all is yet well; for that day the order to my letter arrived; and if the fleet bee not out of sight, doubtless, my letter will be sent to it, and it will returne, and have full reparation.* And I hope they will have *expected till the fourth, to know what the post would bring, since the Governor told them so.* It was not possible for the order to bee there sooner, for it went hence on the foure and twenty, and could not doe it in less than 11 or 12 days. My Secretary went hence on the 24, on a Swede ship, for security, and it was taken by the Holland fleet, but I hope not known.

On the 25th I sent a gentleman *another way*, and that day M^r Worden brought me word that *my Lord Sandwich was returned with the fleet; soe that that message was likewise lost: and not knowing whither then to direct, I stayed till the convoy frigatts came into the Sound, and by them sent back M^r Worden instructed, on the 2nd of this month, which proved to be the day that the business happened at Bergen.* These cross accidents have almost distracted me, and *this King is no less troubled.* The French and Holland Ministers magnify the affront, and make fresh offers to join the Danes. They demanded audience to give solemn thanks (for Mons^r Terlon¹ concerneth himself equally), *but the King of Denmark was not at leisure.*

My Lord,
Yo^r L^{ds} most obedient serv^t,
G. TALBOT.

French Minister at the Court of Denmark.

CLXXXII.

THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY to SIR WILLIAM MORRICE.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Stockholme, Aug. 23^d, 1665, St. V.

RIGHT HON^{BLE},

THE news of the Holland fleete being out maketh every one heere expect news of a battaile suddainly; and till y^t bee past, I beleeve you will have little of certainty *from y^e K. of Denm^k. He hath sent a proiect of a Treaty hether to his Resident*: I have not *seene it*, being newly come to towne. What concerneth *England*, as I heare, is chiefly *that it should pay much money for little service*: but this is but hearesay: by my next I may possibly tell you more. *Lo. Han. Seested and the French Amb^r have had a great quarrell at the French Residents house. The French Amb^r said Han. Seested abused his King with lyes: Han. Seested called the other ignorant and foole. Sir Geo. Downing hath, I doubt not, given you full information what the Holland Envoyé at Copenhagen wrote to y^e States Gen., that Denmark desired to know what way Holland would secure them, in case Denm^k should declare for Holland against England and Sweden.* These are strange proceedings: somebody, sure, they do intend to cosen: I hope it will not bee *our King*. Monsieur Terlon hath beene comming these 6 moneths by peecemeale: once in 6 weekes, one or two of his trayne, and now his coach is vpon the sea comming hether. *Monsieur De Lion at Paris told the publick Min^r of Sweden there, that such instructions were sent as hee hoped would please Sweden, and make them not leave their old acquaintance for new.*

If my L^d of Sandwich bee so fortunate as to take the

East Indy fleete wthout meeting theyre maine fleete, or meete and beate the mayne fleete, your worke, I think, will bee nigh its end; yet the arrivall of De Ruyter maketh so much noyse amongst the Dutch heere, y^t some of them have already bespoken theyre pitch barrells for a few de ioy. They had trumpetts after the last battaile; and, upon the same ground, I hope they will have occasion for drummes and bonfires after this.

I am much troubled to find *Sir G. Talbot his Treaty* no farther advanced; *for by a letter lately to me from him, I find him not so forward as he seemed in Oct^r. Y^e E. of Sandwich* may possibly, and I hope will, speedily make cleare y^e businesse; but wthout *good fortune there, I question whether Han. Seested in England, or Sir G. Talbot in Copenhagen, will by treaty do it in long time.*

It is possible, if the *Swedish army come before Bremen, y^t may alarm, because so nigh Holsten, and oblige him to declare one way or another.*

I wrote you formerly, y^t I thought *Sweden* valued so much y^e *K. of England*, y^t *hee* mought dispose *them* to take part with y^e *Emperor or France* vpon good termes, and *he* remayning garenty. This is to bee thought on betimes, and the consequence; for if *France* declare for y^e *States Gen.*, as it is gen^{ly} beleevd, and intend against y^e *House of Austria* likewise (at least *Flanders*, which will prove y^t in effect), you may be assured that *King* will vse all endeavours to make *Sweden*, who will not be idle. Neither do I beleve they will trust y^e *Ho. of Austria*, but vpon y^e *K. of England* his accompt. This is worth considering, if you beleve *France* will be your enemy.

If your fleete have the successe I hope and wish, you will be able to carve yourselves, notwithstanding any opposition I canne imagine; but if there should arrive any misfortune there, I beleve you would have reason to repent your great patience with *Denmark*; for, if thus dealt wth after a victory, what hope you after a losse? and if you, with

Sweden, had pressed Denmark before France had declared for a positive answer, certainly they would not have denied it.

I aske your Hon^r pardon for this long trouble, and remaine,

Your Hon^r most faithfull
and most humble servant,

HENRY COVENTRY.

M^r Secretary Morrice.

CLXXXIII.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Copenhagen, Aug^t 26. 1665.

MY HONOURED LORD,

THE King and Court have bin absent all this weeke: the last night late they returned; and this morning betimes I was with the Commissioners, to enquire of the busines of Bergen; for they have had two messages, and I not the least sillable from any of our friends, since the beginning. They first charged all the miscarriage on the impatience of our Commander, who would not expect two days for such purchase. They say it was easy for ours to argue, that if the Generall had the Kings order he durst not have disobeyed it, and if he had it not he could not assent to their desire. They next told me, that the order being on the fourth, our west country freind¹ went on shore very privately, and then agreed points that six should enter; that the prey should be equally divided, and that the men of war and merchants ships should tarry in the port 6 weeks, till the ratyfication might come from both Kings; in the mean time, the Castle did undertake to protect them against the Holland fleet, in case it should come there. Sir T. C. went away thus agreed; and when hee came upon the ships, he sent

¹ Sir Thomas Clifford.

word that the business must be remitted to another opportunity.

I can cleare myself, *that I have discharged my part carefully. We heard not of the arrival of the East India fleet till the twentyth, and that day I sent my Secretary to find the fleet, and he was taken, but is gott off, and is now with me. On the 24th of July, the order was sent to the Governor from the King of Denmark, and my letter with it. 2 days after I sent an order express to the fleet, to give advice hereof, but it was departed from the Dogger Sand, and come to Bergen before the order, which could not pass in lesse than 11 or 12 dayes: thence your Lordship will easily compute the rest.*

&c. &c. &c.

G. TALBOT.

My Lord, I beseech you let care be taken of the *Isles of Wight,¹ and Jarsey*, for the *French* whisper some great design.

CLXXXIV.

THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY to THE LORD
CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Stockholm, Sept^r 13. St. V. 1665.

THE Holland fleete, in theyre going to Bergen, were much dissipated by tempest: six of theyre men of warre came into Malestrom, a port belonging to the Swedes, nigh Gottenburgh, of which I had the first (I thinke the onely) intelligence from a merchant that liveth at Gottenburgh. I immediately made my complaint to the Senate, as a thing forbid by the Treaty, to admit any of theyre men of warre into theyre harbour. The Senate returned mee answere by Mons^r Biorneckloe, y^t they had no news themselves of any

¹ Illegible.

such thing; but if there were, they did not doubt but theyre Governour of Bryhuys, which is nigh, and commandeth y^t port and all y^t district, would give speedy order for all y^t I had demanded: upon this Mons^r Biornekloe showed mee a copy of a letter sent to all theyre Governours of port-townes in Aprill last, long before the Ratification of the Treaty, whereby they told them the liberty and priviledge the English men of warre and privateers were to have in all theyre ports, and how the Dutch (notwithstanding any former Treaty) were to have none; and accordingly theyre Governour hath acted. In this last post a letter is come from him, acquainting the K^s of the entrance of those 6 shippes; but y^t he immediately sent to them to acquaint them, y^t if they come there as to a port in which they should be protected, they deceived themselves: for that if the English came and sought them, they would be exposed to them: and so advised them to depart: which they immediately did, and gave him many thanks for his advertisement, protesting they knew not the English Treaty went so farre.

All here are of opinion, that if my L^d of Sandwich beate this fleete, and gett any share of theyre Indian, that they will offer carte blanche; but if Mons^r De Witt come home safe wth the Indian fleete, they will doubtlesse bee higher than ever they were.

I have considered of your L^d^{pps} order, in your last to mee, concerning *the Treaty between these two Crowns*, and I am still afayrd want of powers and instructions will bee of great prejudice to that bussinesse. The *pretence of that Treaty* being only to secure the Baltic, the first demand, naturally, as I conceive, must be, Against and for whom? Now, my L^d, I am afayrd there is little likelihood that Denmark will hazard to displease Holland so much as to declare against them in this Treaty, without having any assurance from England to defend them: and this no man can doe without power or instructions; and if it doe stick heere, they will have a fayre colour to lay the delay at your

doore, and that will put Sweden into great impatience, their affairs requiring much haste in this particular.



CLXXXV.

THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY TO THE LORD
CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Stockholm, Septem^{br} 20th, St. V. 1665.

MY L^d,

I HAVE the last weeke had a sight of the three Holland Envoye's letters to their Masters, from Stockholme, France, and Copenhagen. The first seemeth to despayre, and desires to re-terne. The next hath wrote a long letter, dated the 4th of Sep^{br}. I cannot send you a copy now, but this is the substance. The French Ministers presse Holland much to please Denmarke in their desire, and seeme to undertake for Denmarkes joyning with Holland, notwithstanding the Treaty made with S^r Gil. Talbott, w^{ch} y^e Dan. Resident in France assureth to be only concerning trade, and no ways p^riudiciall to the negotiating of Holland in Copenhagen; and Monsieur De Lyon assured him, that though there was a secrett article, yett that, in the end, England was not pleased, and both the Dutch Ambassador and Envoy in France were well satisfyd of Denmarke's designe: after this, that letter sayes the K. of France was much troubled, to find the States G^rall receive the declaration he had made, by his Ambassador, to assist Holland (in case England received not his offer for peace) soe slightly. The Envoye of Holland made answer, there could bee no expectation that the States G^rall should be pleased with it, because it was offered with a condition, whereas, by the Treaty, he was obliged to assist them, wthout any such limitation. The French Ministers sayd they did not make these offers with intention to conclude a peace, but that their Ambassador might

the better penetrate into Englands designe. The Dutch Envoye answered, France should then give either him or his Masters, by the French Ambass., assurance y^t France would assist Holland, as their Treaty declared, without any condition or limitation. To this the Envoye received no answer, but expected; but those Ministers told him, it was much better for Holland that France should appeare only as Mediator, till it had made ready a sufficient fleet to appeare otherwise; but, after all, the end of the letter was not without much diffidence.

I have heere enclosed sent your Lo^{pp} a letter¹ of Mons^r Ameron, translated as well as I could gett it into English, of which you may make your owne judgement: it will shew you what opinion hee then had of Denmarke.

At that time this letter was wrote, and long before, *the project for a Treaty here was in the Dan. Residents hand, and lately delivered. I had a sight of it, but not from him. As soone as I hear from your new Envoye at Copenhagen, I shall,*

¹ No such letter is found enclosed; but a translation of an intercepted letter from Ameron (or Amerongen), the Dutch Resident at Copenhagen, to his own Government, which is extant in the State Paper Office, is probably that which is here alluded to. It is as follows:—

“They now begin here to manifest a greater inclination for the United Netherlands, and clearly to understand the pernicious designs of the English, who, to satisfy their insatiable avarice, have no respect to fall upon their very friends and allies. And as that which hath happened is here looked upon as a thing of great consideration, drawing other consequences after it, so, indeed, his Majesty and his Ministers of State apprehend it as it ought to be (being occasioned by the assault of the English); and I was given to understand by the two first, that by this same action a most rich fleet is saved to their High and Mighty Lordships, out of the hands of the English, being above the value of 300 tunns of gold, which (they say) deserved at least a three* double succour, and whereby the nation hath made itself irreconcilable to them;—that it were high time to consider upon the security of each other, and to speak of a nearer alliance;—that this King, by these means, hath now again made appeare his inclination towards the States Generall; and therefore it would no ways be thought that, in pursuance of resenting the English action, he should be left in troubles. This Crown is intending better to fortify the towne of Bergen and the Castle. The Governor of Bergen hath, by an expresse, congratulated me on this happy rencounter; whereupon I have, in the name of their High and Mighty Lordships, by a civile letter given him thanks.

(Signed) GODERT. VAN REDETOT AMERONGEN.

Copenhagen, 29 Aug^t, 1665.

* Sic.

according to that, move in it. What is best in it is, that *it is very short; but some things* unreasonable. They demand that *England should pay as much as Denmarke and Sweade; that Denmarke might raise his imposts in the Sound as high as ever, and England and Sweade maintaine him in it.* But what crowneth all is, *that this Treaty must not preiudice any made formerly with France; and what that is, God knows.* —All these things make *these Ministers here very fearfull to treat with them, unlesse they had ended with you: till then, they imagine all is but to spye.*

As I told your L^öpp in some of my former, *the French Amb. giveth these Ministers great assurance that Holland shall give Sweade all they can in reason desire; but the Dutch Envoye says no such thing, but is high againe even to admiration. The Chancellor told me yesterday, that he beleeveth they should shortly give him something in writing, which I understood to bee in the nature of a Manefesto: if it prove so, I shall acquaint you, and make what use I canne of the opportunity.*

Both French and Hollanders promise themselves greate matters from risings to bee in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and they stick not *to intimate as much to the Ministers here, as a thing they are sure of:* but the artifice is discerned. The truth is, *Doleman's engaging on the Dutch fleete would make one thinke he beleeveth it.* What the designe of the K^t and Councell of France is, your L^öpp is likely to know much better then I; but his subjects here, as well as his Ambassadour, appeare more passionate in the cause then the Hollanders themselves, and talke of nothing but theyre K^t taking the Isle of Whight, and so securing the Chanell for the Hollanders.

It is wrote from Holland, y^t the States are resolved to fall immediately into the Bishop of Munster his quarters, and destroy them before hee hath gott his men together. It is likewise wrote, that the Count of Waldeck should drive a Treaty betweene Brandenburgh, the Dukes of Luneburg,

and the States Gräff against the Bp of Munster; and that the same Count should write, that he beleevd Swede would be well pleased with such an alliance. These Ministers say, if they did beleve the intelligence, they should be very angry wth the Count, who, they say, must needes have known otherwise; Sweade having had a Minister with those Dukes all this while. It is sayd heere, the Bishop of Munsters designe agst Holland is not like to come to much, in respect he hath no Gen^l Officers of sufficieney enough to carry on such a warre, and himselfe not experienced enough in that trade.

It is wrote from Holland, y^t Mons^r Van Beuninghen hath intercepted a letter, wherein was mentioned a Treaty ended betweene England, Spayne, and Portugall, vpon w^{ch} it is sayd the King of France hath given him a project in what manner to make the warr joyntly against England, and y^t his Masters have given him leave to returne with it. These Ministers are firme in the opinion that Denmarke is soly ruled by France. I hope you will thinke it fitting to presse for a positive answer: if you cannot obteyne a good one now, being (as I hope) masters of the seas, what canne you hope from thence after some sinister accident to the armes of England, or Sweade, or Denmarke, better in condition by meanes of France and Holland then now it is?

Holland have released the 4 Swedish shippes, and all the merchandise in them, wthout obliging them to sell it there, although theire Resident heere had declared to the Chan^lr that all the comoditys of this country were contrebanded. And now, my L^o, I am confident you are of the opinion, y^t if I have not wrote a letter wise enough, I have one long enough. I hope it is ordered I shall not wright many more of them, and so y^r Lōpps pardon for this will, I hope, bee the more easy; which I most humbly begge, as being,

My L^a,

Your Lōpps most humble and

most obedient servant,

HENRY COVENTRY.

I am informed the States have p'sented the Gouvner of Bergen wth 50000 R. Dollors, and the Coñander wth 16000.

For the Right Hon^{ble} the Earle of Clarendon, L^d High Chancellour of England, at Worcester House.

CLXXXVI.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Coppenhagen, 8^{ber} 6. 1665.

AT XI I went to Court, and the King coming toward me, I asked his Majesty how he was pleased to relish the proposalls which we had made to him (this I did, willing to argue them with himself, because I knew one of his Commissioners to be noe friend to them); and his Majesty, seeing much company about him, carryed me into his withdrawing room, where Hannibale and Gabale were, and drew me to the window. The Com^r came to join us, but the King told them he would be private with me; and they both went to another window. The King asked me if I had any thing to say to him; and I, willing to lay hold on the opportunity, entered on the discourse of Bergen, and the unhappy consequences of it.

(1.) I sayd it would be endless to debate where the miscarriage lay; because his Majesty beleived the relation of his own officers, and the King our master that of his.—That (2.) there was a miscarriage, and the King our master greatly offended at it, because it exposed him to the censure of the world, as a violator of the law of nations towards a professed friend and ally.—That this was aggravated by many circumstances: (3.) the slowness of transmitting the orders to the Governor at Bergen; (4.) his not

obeying when the order came, and his trifling Treatyes; (5.) his suffering the ships to goe out afterwards; (6.) his Majesty closing with the enemy in the meane time, as it appeared to the King our master by (7.) Mons^r D'Estrades's Memoriall, and to us by Ameron's intercepted letter; (9.) by the coldness of his Ministers in offering any thing towards a satisfaction to his Majesty, or discovering any propensity to entertain our articles tendered, or come to any agreement with us.—(10.) That the King our master had commanded us to press his Majesty to a conjunction with him in an offensive war against Holland, as the only means to save his honour; and if this was refused, I was sorry to tell his Majesty that we were commanded to declare an entire dissatisfaction.—That I had spoken thus far as a public Minister: and if his Majesty would now give me leave, I would speake as a private person devoted to his interest. I told him, there was noe busines so difficult but reason was able to surmount it. That his Majesty could not blame the King our master for (xi.) being tender of his honour.—That (12.) the cure which he had proposed for it was both easy and advantageous to his Ma^{ty}.—That (13.) it was not to enter into a bloody warre (as his Stat-holder alleadged), but only to deny his ports in Norway, and trade in the Baltick to the Hollander.—That whereas his Comm^{rs} had objected danger from Holland and its Allyes, I desyred his Ma^{ty} to consider (14.) that there was danger on all sides, and it was the proper business of prudence to chuse the least.—That (15.) to secure him from that appearance of danger, the King would send a squadron of 10 or 12 ships (and second them with his whole fleete, if need required), and advance him £50,000 upon the customs in the Sound.—I desired his Ma^{ty} not to interpret my words amiss, and I would speake yet more freely; but I humbly besought him not to think that I intended menace; for I well knew that that was not a stile fitt to be used to a greater King. I asked his Majesty to look upon the reverse of the

medall, and weigh the inconveniences together. The King of England declared a dissatisfaction: it was not probable (16.) that he would doe that, unlesse he had a resolution to doe more.—Suppose (17.) that he should complain to his Allyes. I conceived there were some who would not need much sollicitation to resent it for him.—And (18.) if it were true that his Majesty had not the means to enter into an offensive league ag^t Holland, why did he not think it equally fitt, at least, to forbear to offend England? or how would he be able to hinder a resentment?—That, possibly, (19.) the greate supports and Allyes of his Majesty (which his Com^r boasted, to terrify us) might be too remote to prevent his danger, which I yet hoped his owne prudence, and friendly inclination toward the King our master, would lead him to prevent.

His Ma^{ty} answered almost to every particular clause of my discourse—(1.) for the business of Bergen, he had his eares open to better information, and hoped the King of Eng^d had soe to,—That (2.) the K^s had noe reason to be offended with him, but both should lay the blame on those who failed in the management, which would cleare his Ma^{ty} better than divulging the matter.—That he (3.) dispatched his orders with all diligence, but the English precipitated the affayre.—That (4.) his Governor was ready to treat a second tyme after the orders received, but the English Commanders would not stay.—That (5.) our fleete being gone away, he durst not withstand the Hollanders, who (beside theyre whole fleete at hand) had 2000 men in the Towne.—That (6.) his closing with Holland is a mistake; it is (7.) D'Estrades artifice to clap in such a Memoriall.—And as for (8.) Amerons letter, *Legatus* was “*vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum*,” &c.—That (9.) if his Ministers demurred at our proposals, it was because they knew his condition could not suffer him to come: and if he should enter into an offensive, it would but deceive our expectation; for he was able to doe nothing: and he hoped the

King of England would not quarrel with him for that.—(x.) That he would employ all his reason to avoyd a misunderstanding with England.—That (xi.) he could not blame the King of Eng^d to be tender of his honour, and he hoped his Majesty would likewise allow him to be tender of his.—That (12.) the cure which might appear easy to us, was hard and impossible to him; and we offered noe meanes to continue such a war when entered into. That (13.) the denyall of his ports would draw the Hollanders and their Allyes upon him, and the debarring their trade would undo him in his customes.—(14.) To the ships he made noe reply; but he sayd, that £50,000 was a small stock to begin a war; that he doubted not that Eng^d was more potent than Holland, and victorious; but the King of Eng^d could not justly lay any provocation to his charge.—That (14.) he could not beleieve the King of Eng^d intended anything to his prejudice.—That (16.) if he were assaulted, he must call to his friends for ayd, who were concerned in his preservation.—That if he were destitute of such, it was because he had mainly depended upon his allyance with England.—That (17.) although the danger were never soe neare, he hoped God would protect the innocent and just.—That (18.) although his friends were remote, and he might suffer for the present, he doubted not but a good cause would, in time, restore him.

On Thursday morning we¹ went both to the Court, and presented the Memoriall of dissatisfaction. In all my life I never saw man soe broken as the King in one day. He answered the clause of divulging, and sayd, he expected not that return from the King of Eng^d for his good will; but if he would proceed to that kind of revenge, he would publish the plaine truth likewise.

Hannibal imbarketh his servants this day for Holland. They goe with Amerons men, and possibly the maisters

¹ Sir Gilbert Talbot and Sir Thomas Clifford.

may goe in company. *I beleeve his haste is to call upon the French for help.* This King hath given order to fortify all his sea townes in Norway. We sent this morning to the Master of the Ceremonies, to procure an audience; and Sir Tho^s intended to take his leave this day: but Han. and Sec^y Burman came to us in the morning, to tell us that the King had viewed our Memoriall; that it looked like a Manifest—asked if we had order to proclaime war against him. We replied, noe—that we had done nothing like it; and upon debate on the points of our Memoriall, desired them to propose the terms themselves, provided they would declare in an offensive. They carryed our words to the King, and say they will joine with us, and offer us articles speedily to that effect.

CLXXXVII.

LORD HOLLIS to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Paris, 11 Octob. 65.

I SEE the intention is to destroy the whole English trade, that neither our cloth nor any of our manufactures shall have vent; which must needes ruine the merchant. There is now a command to bring all the English clothes already in France to be sealed; which onely they may sell, and afterwards not any more; if they doe, threatned to be ruined with all severity imaginable. Soe are they forbidden, with the like menaces, to buy any knitt stockings, of which they mean to set up the trade at Cottance, which must bring Jersey to beggary. And the King, not long since, did openly declare in Councell he was not obliged to England by any Treaty at all; for that the antient ones were not confirmed, as they were to be, to

continue valide: upon which one Abernethee, who sued for some goods left him by an uncle, was cast, when the Councell had resolved, in pursuance of the Treaties, to grant them unto him. Yet hath this King sworne to those Treaties in 1644, when my Lord Goring was Ambassador here; and according to an Article in those Treatyes (which makes them perpetuall in case the successor of either of the Kings dying within a year after his coming to the Crowne, doe, by his Ambassador, declare his acceptance of them, and desire to continue them), my Lord of S^t Albans did, in 1661, in May, make such a declaration in his Majestys name, which doth establish these Treatyes: yet can none of his Majestys subjects have the benefit of them, nor almost receive any justice, merchant or other. Of gentlemen there is, besides this Scotchman, my L^d Carrington, Sir Kenelme Digby, and M^r Knightley, that dyed the other day, who have their goods seized, and their heires and executors not suffered to enjoy them.—These doings shew not that they have any desire here to continue our frends; or, if they doe, their friendship will be little worth, when no English, Scotch, or Irish shall be able to trade here.¹

¹ The Declaration was made in June, 1661, (more than a year after the Restoration, and was as follows:—

Nous, Comte de S^t Albans, Ambassadeur Ext^{re} du Roy de la Grand Brétagne, auprès de sa Majesté le Roy très-Chrétien, entendons pour luy, que les anciens Traitez faits entre les Rois predecesseurs de leurs Majestés subsistent et ayent leur effet commun de part et d'autre, pour l'entretien de la bonne correspondance des Couronnes, et commerce de leurs sujets. Fait à Fontainebleau le 23^e de Juin, 1661.

(Signé) ST. ALBANS.

The above is taken from a copy in the State Paper Office.—Subsequent to this declaration, it was laid down by the Judges, at the trial of Vane, that Charles II. had been King *de facto* since his father's death. Louis might, therefore, fairly plead that Charles had not fulfilled the requisite conditions, even if the declaration had been made in May.

CLXXXVIII.

LORD HOLLIS to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Paris, 11 Octob. 65.

AT this instant the letters are come — your Lordships of October 7th from Oxford — by which I see you have no hopes, nor his Majesty neither, that I should receive any satisfaction in the business with Mad^m de Carignan. Trewly, nor I neither, in that nor any thing else: but the question is what I shall doe; in which I would know his Majesty's pleasure, if he will have me put it up, and wipe my eyes as if nothing had displeased me, or show some resentment of it; for if there be probability of a rupture, as me thincks there is very much, I know not if it will not be best to lett this remaine in the number of our many more complaints, than to have it alleadged for a president of their claims of proceeding. For what the King made her doe, in sending that message afterwards to my wife; and the messenger having order to say nothing to me; shewes plainly their intention in it, — that signifying how they thinke it no wrong to the Ambassador to beate back his horses and coach, and so goe before, it being their due, the messenger is expressly forbidden to give him any satisfaction at all for it; but by his wife, a lady, being there, they would doe a little civility to her (and a very slender one too — not shewing any displeasure against the insolent footman that had done it). Indeed, my Lord, I thinke this was a greater, and his Majesty more concerned in it, then than the first assault upon my coach and servants. Then the business of Bailleul, and the infringement of all the points

of the Treaty; the droit d'Aubeine; and the forbidding of our manufactures, directly against the 14th Article of the Treaty in 1606; and more than all, the King declaring he is not obliged to any Treaty with England; whereas his Majesty hath done all required of him to confirme the Treatyes — my Lord of S^t Albans having signified his Majesties resolution and desire of it, according to the 3. Article of that in 1610. These things shew an intention to fall foule with us — except, perhaps, all be done to try if wee will be terrified, according to M^r Courtens letter by the Abbé de Beaufort¹: but whether so, or in good earnest, I humbly desire his Majesty will be pleased to consider and command what he will have me doe, — whether yield and comply, or keepe still our pretension and claime entire; and if we must breake, doe it rather first than last after some ground lost.

¹ An explanation of this allusion will be found in the following extract from a letter from Hollis to Arlington, dated Paris, $\frac{1}{4}$ Octob. 65., extant in the State Paper Office: —

“ I perceive they mean to pursue an advice given, it seemes, lately by M^r Courtin, to be fiers to us, and so “ *rabattre la fierté d'Angleterre.*” The story is this, and I dare give it your Lordship for a trew one. The Abbé de Beaufort, who is now out of the Bastille, and gone to Rhodéz confined, had amongst his papers a copy of a letter of M^r Courtin to M^r De Lionne, which himselfe brought out of England, and, after the French curiosity and fidelity, opened and tooke a cobby before he delivered it. It consisted of two parts: one concerning Madame, which I will not presume to repeate, giving some warnings, and advertisements concerning her as in relation to England: the other was a complaint that they were high and fierce to him in England; and that therefore they should be so here, both to the English Minister, and in all things concerning England, as the onely way to calme us. This is the short of the business; and it is, I am confident, very trew: however, I am sure they doe the thing, whether they had the advice or no.”

CLXXXIX.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]Copenhagen, 8th 15. 1665.

ON Friday morning wee heard nothing from his Majesty; but as we were at dinner, the Master of the Ceremonies brought us word that the King would immediately send his Commissioners to discourse some points with us, and would afterwards send for us. They came accordingly, and we debated the whole matter; and having supplied some ceremonials, and more fully explained some Articles, we finally agreed to engross the Treaty, and signe it on Monday; whereof by the next post we will send a copy. But this Treaty is not to oblige either party, unless the Swedes likewise declare in an offensive with us against Holland; by which means we may have time to learn how his Majesty and his Councell will approve of what we have done, before the assent of Swede be declared.

The King of Denmark hath, in the mean time, sent order to arrest the East India ships in Christiania and Bergen.

CXC.

LORD HOLLIS to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]

Paris, 21 Octob. 65.

VERY confident I am, that we shall find that France will not be long our friend, for all looks that way; and I doe verily beleieve that the end of making that Treaty with the

Dutch was but to make a party against England, by their assistance to dispute the regality of the sea,—first to share it with us,—then assume it to themselves, and thereby to become the masters of the trade of Europe, and draw the chiefe benefitt of it to France, which they prepare for all they can; building and trying ships in all places, so as, they say, they hope next yeare to have threescore as good ships in these seas as any can saile there. And I know not if it be not best for us, that they doe now show us their good wills, and even force his Majesty to come to a present resolution, than to temporise longer, till they be readier for us than they now are; for certainly we can never have a more favourable conjuncture than now to assert our rights, with that advantage which his Majesty now hath, both in reputation, and in reall strength, over the Dutch, by whose assistance onely France could hurt us in regard of their strength at sea. And then, the cheerfulness and unanimity of his people at home; and, I may say, the distractions, and discontents, and unpreparednes here:—never fewer forces on foote in France than now;—never people of all sorts, —souldiers, gentry, clergy, merchants, and all generally—more unsatisfied;—the Protestant party, which is a considerable one, desperate; all their allies displeased with them; the Protestant Princes of Germany disgusted by many late passages; Swede, I believe, never to join with them against us; Italy (the Pope especially) not very well pleased. Of Spaine, and the dependants there, I need not speake. So, considering all abroad and at home—the advantages of the one side, and disadvantages of the other—I doe not know that ever it could be better for us, and worse for them, than it is at this instant. And whether his Majesty will delay any longer, and stay till more provocation be offered from hence, or take his rise from those already received, I humbly offer it to him.

CXCI.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT TO LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. Orig.]

Helsingneure, Oct^r 21. 1665.

ON Wednesday morning *we met* the Commissioners in the Council chamber, and having shewed each others powers and changed copies of them, we signed the Treaty : and Sir Tho^r Clifford went immediately and took leave of the King and Prince. The Court went abroad that day to take the ayre; but *Han. Sestedt and Gobell* (who may be marked 866) came to consult what article should be concealed from the Swede, and what we should doe about the ships in Norwegua. We thought fit to conceale those concerning the money and ships, and some words which related¹ ; and we are to frame our discourse accordingly to the Swede Ambassador here, and so is Sir T. C. and the Danish Ambassador to the Swede in Stockholm. The business of the ships is to be concerted as the advice comes certaine from thence ; for some say they are gone by, others that they are still there : in the mean time, order is sent to stop them fayrely, till (if need be) we send for our fleet (or part) to help ; but, in that case, it shall be by an express all first agreed, and the King of Denmarkes order shall be sent, as well to you, as to his Governours, that those who act may bring their war with them.

The Munster army visiteth all pacquets ; therefore I doe not adventure the Treaty till it be fit to send an express, which wold depend on the assent of the Swede ; without which nothing is binding which we have done here. We may possibly be thought to tye the King to hard conditions ; but if his Majesty will be pleased to ballance the advantage therewith, I

¹ Sic.

doubt not they will appear well advanced. The hardest points for us are, to pay to the King of Denmark one hundred thousand pounds yearly during the war, for which all English ships and good shall pass the Sound custom free, during the war, and 5 years after. You are to send twelve men of war hither at your charge for a year, till the King of Denmark can equip his fleet, and lend the ships afterwards, as long as the war lasts, to be manned and entertained by the King of Denmark ; for which he is to engage with you in an offensive war against Holland, break all Treaty with them, make no peace without you, refuse their ports to and forbid all trade with them, and once more recall their subjects ; which conditions will make it impossible, for the matter, to keep the sea. But the most considerable advantage of the Treaty is, that, unless Denmark had come in, Sweden declared they would engage no further than the defensive ; so that the gaining this Crowne, although at a dear rate, hath made sure both Crownes to you. I humbly desire to know, with all speed, how this is received ; for if you dislike the business, we may evade it by obstructing it in Sweden.

G. TALBOT.

CXCII.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. Orig.]

Copenhagen, Oct. 28. 1665.

THE Grand Treasurer (Hannibal Zestedt) intendeth very speedily to begin his journey towards Holland, England, and it may be France. He is first to enquire what the late sent messenger hath done about the accounts and the Danish pretences. If the States give not full satisfaction, he is to break off with them ; if they offer it, he is to require great security. If France will undertake that, he must still find out

somewhat else to break upon. But all this is to be understood if Swede enter into the offensive, and consequently our Treaty bind; but if they will not come in, then he is either to make up an agreement with Holland, of matter in controversy (in hope you will allow it), or to make all haste to you, and take his measures in England, and make new articles with you. He hath two great publike designs in England: the first, to obtaine some promise of restoring this King to his lost country¹; the other, to have your help to reduce Hamburgh.

CXCH.

THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY TO THE LORD
CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library, *Orig.*]

Stockholm, Novemb^r 8th, St. V. 1665.

MY LRD,

SINCE my last to y^r Lo^{PP}, of the 1^o of this p^{se}nt, S^r Thomas Clifford² is arrived; and since him, the Queene, and the other Regents. I suppose the next weeke hee will have

¹ Holstein.

² Thomas Clifford was born at Ugbrooke, Devon, Aug. 1. 1630; represented Totness in the Convention Parliament, and that of 1661; was knighted in the spring of 1665; was present at the sea fight of June 3. 1665; afterwards sailed with Lord Sandwich; and, after the affair of Bergen, was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to the Courts of Denmark and Sweden; was, on November 8. 1666, made Comptroller of the Household; Dec. 5. 1666, was sworn of the Privy Council; after the death of Lord Southampton, in May, 1667, was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; on June 14. 1668, became Treasurer of the Household; in 1672, was made Secretary of State, pro tempore, during the absence of Lord Arlington on an Embassy to Holland; on April 22. 1672, was created Baron Clifford; on November 28. 1672, was raised to the post of Lord High Treasurer, which he held till June, 1673. Died in September, 1673, in the 44th year of his age. He was one of the Cabal Ministry; and is unfavourably remembered as the chief agent in two infamous measures, — the secret Treaty with France in 1670, and the closing of the exchequer in 1672.

audience, which he hath not as yet so much as demanded, by reason his æquipage is not as yet made. Hee hath communicated to me *what he hath done in Denmarke*. Hee telleth me hee hath *sent you the heads of the Treaty*. I should bee very glad to *know your opinion of it*, because there are *some things may have influence upon Sweade*; for *when it shall finde Denmarke* receive from you *one hundred thousand pounds a yeare*, besides *twelve ships maintained for one yeare*, and *lent as long as the warr lasts*, I am afrayd it will bee the occasion of *Sweades asking more than else*, it may bee, it would, especially since *Denmarke is obliged only to declare and defend your ships upon theyre owne coast and havens*—and that onely against *Holland, not France, nor any other Prince that shall assist them*: and that is it I acquainted y^r Lo^{pp} and M^r Sec^{ry}, that I feared, the last post.

I find I was not mistaken neyther in the other point, to wit,—that the *validity of this Treaty must depend upon the concludeing the triple Treaty*; wherein if *Denmark insert an Article for France*, as in the last project it did, *Sweade will bee loth to oppose it*, and so the *stopp must lye at your owne dore*, and both *Treatys* remaine at a stand. These considerations, I confesse, my L^d, make me vn-willing, till wee heare how *you like the Treaty, to lett the Ministers here see it*; and yet that must bee before *we can advance*, because, they being *acquainted that this Treaty dependeth upon Sweade entring into that other*, they will wthout doubt presse to see that *w^{ch} they must give life to*: and when they doe, it is as little to be doubted, I beleeve, *that they will value themselves at as good arate as you have Denmarke*; and consider, I pray, my L^d, how that will agree wth those orders you sent mee in your last of the 1st of Oct^{ber}. As to *our want of money*, which orders as I did the last weeke putt in execution to *Bjornckloe*, so I have *since to the Chancellor, with whome I have had a very long discourse upon all those several heads*; but must expect his opinion more at large the next meeting. The Chancellor re-

ceived the whole discourse wth demonstrations of satisfaction enough. I made it much after the same manner as y^t I gave your Lo^{pp} an accompt of the last weeke. As to the *busines of Spaine*, he seemed to acquiesce in those reasons I told you I had used in my last, onely wee parted wth one point undecided. *He acknowledged the designe of France to be the same that Spayne and the Emperor had, when Sweade first engaged against them, but would not grant it was in the capacity to act as the other then were.* I told him, *if they were not, they might quickly be ; and that sure it was better to prevent a danger while easy to be done, then to stay till it growe too strong.*

From a very good hand, since I wrote the former, I am informed that *those discourses above mentioned have had their debate*, and that, as I formerly hinted unto your Lo^{pp}, *the offence was looked on as the foundation, to w^{ch} there appeared no aversion ; only the same quere was made I enformed you of last summer ; vz. whither England intended a totall ruine of Holland, or barely a lessning or regulating.* *The first was judged p^judicial to the Protestant interest, the other reasonable.* Of this I may wrighte you more by the next ; but I thought fitt to give you this advertisement of it, that you may consider, in case *you come to a Treaty offensive against Holland, what limitts you will putt to your pretensions upon Holland : I meane not soe much in point of satisfaction, as of security ; for that I take to bee the meaning, whether Holland should be left a free state, or cantonized.* A question of that nature I remember proposed, about the beginning of the last summer, and then p^{re}sently of themselves layd aside ; nor do I knowe anything canne bee sayd to it, but in gen^l termes.

CXCIV.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]Copenhagen, X^{br} 19th, 1665.

I THIS day receaved a letter from Han. Sestedt, who sayth that he will bee *quickly with you* ; but *Holland hath writ hither* that he will not *depart thence till he hath dispatched his Treaty there*. He designeth to *make new proposalls to England if Sweden come not in* ; and I have some reason to conjecture that he would *engage his Majesty to help this Crown to the reducing Schonen, which is in the power of Sweden, if Denmark come in to you alone* ; but you will best judge whether it be worth the purchase at that rate. For my part, I very much feare that you will not *find Sweden very hasty to engage with you, for theyre designe is to get in to this trade during your dispute with Holland* ; wherwith they will be content — having all that *freely released to them by the Hollander, which they can expect from your conjunction*.

CXC.V.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]Helsignore, X^{ber} 23. 1665.

M^r SECRETARY MORRICE told me in his last, that it was much apprehended amongst you, that *Sweden would pretend to the same conditions that you have given to Denmark* ; I meane for *money and ships* ; but in my opinion there is

noe colourable reason for it; for *Sweden doth not releace any customs, nor hath it any coast to guard besides Gottenburgh; whereas the King of Denmark lays open all Norwegia, Zealand, Holstein, and the North Islands. Indeed, the Articles concerning prises ought to be kept under great secrecy, because we may probably entrap the Holland East India fleet, those of the Mediterranean, &c.; which is a consideration that may very well recompence the money and shipping which you advance. If, therefore, Denmark be made secure by the coming in of Sweden, and by mutual ratification, I am so far from repining at the departure of the ships lately from Bergen¹, that I could be content if those from Christiania were gone too, for they can bring us no profit but by the loss of our enemies; nay, if they be withheld, the Hollander will not trust his ships in those harbours again.*

CXCVI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE HONORABLE
HENRY COVENTRY.

[From the Bodleian Library. A Copy.]

I HAVE read both yo^r l^{rs} to the King, who is abundantly satisfied wth the contents of them, and wth the dexterity by w^{ch} you approached these important particulars wth the Ministers; and wth the reception yo^u found wth them. I suppose the newes of the Bishop of Munsters condiçõn arrives as soone wth yo^u as wth vs. The last accompt wee have is a very cheerfull one from himselfe, in w^{ch} he seemes

¹ It appears by a letter from Talbot to Arlington, of November 4th, that the King of Denmark had promised to detain these ships. He says, "Since the sending away of my paquet to the post, *Han. Sestadt* is come to me, and says that *all the Smyrna ships* are come back to Bergen, and that the *King of Denmark* will seize them. I have seene a letter from the *Vice King of Norwegia*, which promiseth the same for those under his Government." This letter is in the State Paper Office.

abundantly delighted wth what he received from Swede, and to retaine a courage not to be shaken by the menaces, or promises of France, or by any other combinations w^{ch} are against him; and yo^u may be sure the King our Master will doe all that is in his power, to keepe vp his spiritts: but he is not yet in such a post that wee can supply him either wth men, or assist him by shipping, soe that all wee can doe is by transmitting money to him; and that likewise meetes wth more obstruc^{co}ns then wee could i^{ma}gine. For besides the difficulty of raiseing it here, the generall contagion haveing interrupted all our receipts, it is not to be i^{ma}gined how difficult it is to returne money into those partes, though we had it all in the house; there not being to be gotten bills of exchange in all London to transmitt three thousand pounds a weeke into Germany, reckoning what may be done to Hamborough into the accompt. Soe that, besides a very reasonable so^{me} which wee have found bills of exchange for to Antwerp and Hamborough, the maine of the supply wee have hitherto sent, hath beene in forraigne species, and in tinne, both sent over by convoy to Ostend. And I doe a little the more inlarge in this informa^{co}n, that if hereafter you shall find yo^r selfe engaged by the Treaty to furnish money from hence, you may as well provide for the manner of the payment, vpon the foresight of these difficulties; and, if it were possible, procure that the payment in London may be all that shall be expected from us.

As to the greates businesse of making a firme friendship betweene o^r Master, Swede, and Spayne; w^{ch}, if carried on wth successe, would be the greatest act of State, and most for the benefitt of Christendome, that this age hath produced; I doe in the first place tell you, that it is, or can be, in no other hand but yo^rs. In the next place, yo^u may lay this as a ground to Swede (for yo^u have made as faire an advance, and wth as good successe, as could reasonably be expected), that o^r Master

can never propose that they should quitt France, and the benefitt of that friendship, before they bee fully satisfied that they shall have at least equall benefitt from that of Spayne. And if yo^u could drawe from them in confidence any particulars that would satisfie them, I am confident wee should manage it soe, as will give them content; and that Spayne will make the right vse of it; w^{ch}, I believe, hath given over making love to France by those little artifices. However, Swede shall not suffer by any overtures wee shall make: and you have made soe good an entrance vpon this worke, w^{ch} depends wholly vpon the reception there, that it is not possible to send you any particular proposi^tions how to proceed. In the meane time, you may be sure wee cultivate the designe, all wee can, in all places; and I am exceedingly deceived if Spayne will not be very glad of it, and consequently advance it by their utmost concessions.

Concerning the Treaty wth Denmarke, of w^{ch} wee have, inded, onely seene the heads, and, I thinke, onely the heads which concerne our selves, wee know not yet what to thinke. But I at first viewe forsaue what that undertaking of ours for the money and the shippes would produce in Sweden; w^{ch} hath reason to vallue their friendship, if they enter into the offensive, at as high a price as Denmarke hath done. The chiefe end of sending S^r Thomas Clifford into Sweden was, first, to make a cleare informa^tion of the businesse of Berghen, and that they might knowe wee had not violated the lawe of nations; and, in the next place, that they might be assured wee would indure no longer delays wth Denmarke; but that if they refused to doe that w^{ch} was just towards vs and towards Sweden, Sweden it selfe should be judge what wee should doe, in conjunc^tion wth them, wth or against Denmarke. And this was the Kings cleare resolu^tion; and all that his Ma^{tie} can yet say to that Treaty, till he knowes the sense of Sweden, to w^{ch} he will adhere, is, that if the Swede consents to all that concernes him, and

there remains no other doubt, but of what relates to his Ma^{tie}, to give Swede satisfac^ōn wth the like supply of one hundred thousand pounds, you shall undertake it, though it be much more then, in truth, wee give Denmarke; for wee have very valluable security for the repayment of that wee lend there, and for the shipps, besides the being presently possessed, vpon the matter, for the wholl trade of the Baltique. And that is all I can say to the matter of that Treaty, besides the apprehensions wee have of the insincerity, at least of the stupidity, of the Dane, w^{ch} makes them irresolute in all things.

I confess to you, I doe much apprehend that, how well soever Swede may stand inclined to vs, they may not yet be ready presently to ingage in the offensive, (which, I doubt, determines the Treaty of Denmarke,) vntill they have adjusted all their other ends, and may be secure of Spayne, before they quitte France; w^{ch} they will believe must be the consequent of their entring into the offensive. In a word, a firme fast friendship wth Swede is what wee desire most; and consequently you may, vpon all occasions, assure them that, as wee will never faile in doing all wee can to procure it, soe wee will improve it by promising and performing all that is in our power; and they may assure themselves, as I said before, that wee will promise them nothing, but what, humanly speaking, wee shall have in our power to performe.

His Ma^{tie} was not at all surprized wth that part of yo^r letter concerning the queere, whether England intended a totall ruine of Holland, for which the very foolish discourses of many, of getting the dominion of the wholl seas, have administered too much occasion. You may assure Swede, that the King hath no designe upon the Government there, or to force them to put themselves under the protec^ōn of any other monarch; but to bring them wth in the limitts of good neighbourhood, and to oblige them to live towards other Kings and Princes as they ought to doe, and to be repaired for some signall

injuries he hath sustayned: and if Swede once enters into the offensive, what limitts shall be put to either of our pretences, will easily be adjusted.

Endorsed — “ To M^r Coventry, from L^d
Chancellor. Dec. 1665.

CXCVII.

THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY TO THE LORD
CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Stockholm, Feb^r 14th, St. V. 1665.

SOME two days since I was sent to to meete my Commissioners, which I did; when Mons^r Biornckloe, in a large discourse, repeated many particulars of the certainty they had *of Denmarks being joined with Holland, of the great designs of France in Germany and Poland, their design of sending that Prince with an army, that the Q. of Poland was resolved to put all Prussia into the hands of French officers; and such a neighbourhood, together with the influence they had upon Moscow, could not but oblige Sweden to be upon their guard:* y^e besides this, *if Denmarke were putt into such a fleete as they were informed, and assisted with money, and possibly men, from France, who totally governes that affaire, I could not but, considering well of it, judge that Sweden, if it appeared against France, would have enough upon its hands.* Notwithstanding this, they were to assure mee the King of Sweden had no way altered his resolutions, in remayning fast by the friendship he had made with the King my master; neither was there *any resolution taken against coming in to the offensive; but all these changes happening,* it was not counsellable to act as I had proposed; and, therefore, a maine part of the reason the King had commanded their meeting, was to consult wth mee *what would make for the common interest.* To this I answered, it was true, *affairs*

were changed since our last meeting, especially if *Denmark* were gone off; for as to *France*, it was but what was long expected: but if the other were true, I should rather advise to fall upon him, before he were in a defensive posture, and so by force to bring him to. Hee seemed not to dislike the reason of the thing; but then *Biornckloe* asked, "*What money?*" I answered, I had told him at the last meeting; and assured him, I did not intend to lose time by being at all reserved upon that point. Hee said, (but it was smiling,) y^t since *Denmark* had left *England*, if *Sweden* stuck fast, he hoped we would give them what we had promised *Denmark*. To this I answered, that *Denmarks* going off made us less in a condition to give money than before, because a greater sum must be spent against him, now our enemy, than would have been upon him if our friend; that the war with him was as much *Swedens* concerne as *Englands*; and was very confident the only quarrel *Denmarke* had against my Master was for having been so just in the matter of the guaranty, for since that time he had never treated faithfully with us; and that if *England* sh^d give *Sweden* the same sum it had offerd *Denmark*, it would bee in effect twice as much; first, considering the customs, and then the saving that assistance by the Treaty they are to give us. To this there was very little answered, but *Biornckloe*, with some concern, asked, whether I had not some credit or command of money at present to help them with 50,000*l.* to put out their fleet. I told him I could engage for such a sum, upon an offensive Treaty being ratified, but not sooner; and upon this point I find them mightily pinched; and as to the place of payment, as I told you in my last, it is impossible to have it at *London*: some small part may be so contrived, but nothing considerable. But this sticketh so close, that *Biornckloe* came againe to me alone, the next morning, to press me upon it.

CXCVIII.

THE HONORABLE HENRY COVENTRY TO LORD ARLINGTON.

[From the State Paper Office. *Orig.*]Stockholm, Feb^r 28. 1666, St. V.

THE new Ambassador from France buildeth much faster than the old did; he hath already tryed his douceurs and his threatens. His mayne engine of battery, money, is yet to come; but I am almost universally assured that temptation shall not be prevalent; and that, even before his comming, it was resolved that the interest of state should bee only considered in the first place, and not his offers of money; though hee brought as much as was reported, which I dare say is much more than true. I assure your Lo^{pp}, they are very much scandalized at the French reports of commanding them by theyre money, and the Chanc^r himselfe had this expression; — France is much mistaken, if they think Sweden to bee to them as the Tartars to the King of Poland, barely so much money, and march, without consideration of the honour or interest of the nation.

The proceedings of Denmark are now, I believe, past being in doubt with you; and Sir Tho^r Clifford (though I beleieve he had none of the best opinions of Denmark) yet cannot but bee amazed, to find a new Treaty concluded with Holland, before hee could bring his and your view, though hee endeavoured it with so much pains and hazard. And for a better observation how honourably Denmarke hath proceeded, please to take this note, that, as wee guesse by calculation, at the very same time that the Danish Resident send their Ministers here, to declare theyre resolutions for entering into an offensive with England and Denmarke, the Danish Ministers at the Hague assured Mons^r Appleboone, that they had con-

cluded theyre Treaty with Holland, and had left a plan for Swede, and desired him to invite his . . . ¹ to enter into it. The best comfort is, that hee draweth both shipps and money from Holland, and sendeth them neither.

CXCIX.

SIR GILBERT TALBOT to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Copenhagen, March 3^d, 1666.

MY LORD,

It is not to be doubted but that y^r L^p hath, before this time, too good assurance of the foule tergiversation of the Danes; yet, possibly, you may not have, yet, the sight of theyre private articles: I therefore send y^r L^p all the materiall heads of them, which is all that I could possibly compass, for they are kept here under greate secrecy.

1. The Preamble demonstrates the cause of making this allyance wth Holland, w^{ch} is grounded on the violent entrance of the English into y^e havens of Norway; taking of Danish ships at sea; plundering of ships in the Sound; holding up all Dan. vessels in Eng^d; forcing the K^s of Denmark from his neutrality; which are alleadged to be all breaches of y^e agreement betwixt y^e 2 Crownes.

2. Holstein shall defend and assist y^e Hollanders, in all theyre harbours, agst the English.

3. The K^s of Denm^k shall protect the Hollanders generally in all his countryes; and in order to theyre defence, shall, agst the 1st of April, be ready to set saile with a fleete of 40 ships of war. And if any of the forty shall be lost by storme, sunk, or taken, then Denm^k shall, with all speed, supply to y^e number of 40.

4. In consideration of the K^s of Denm^{ks} expence in set-

¹ Illegible.

ting out this fleete, and maintaining of 6000 men, Holland shall quitt to the K. of Denm^k all old pretensions of debt: and shall, moreover, pay to him 600000 Rix dollars yearly as long as the warr shall continue.

5. W^{ch} su^m of 600^m Rix dollⁿ shall be payd as followeth: 300^m shall be payd in Hambourg on the 1st of March, 150^m on the 1st of June, and 150^m on the 1st of 7^{ber}. And Holland shall furnish the K^s of Denm^k with 8 frigats (each of 32 guns), to make, with the 32 Danish ships, a fleete of 40.

6. In case Holland shall make peace wth England within y^e year 1666, Denm^k shall, notwithstanding, have the 600^m Rix dolⁿ.

7. If the warr shall continue longer then a yeare, the Hollⁿ shall, by Co^mmissioners, account with his Ma^y of Denm^k, and pay him proportionably to the time; and shall, at the making up of the peace, give him 3 months pay, viz. 150^m Rx d^s, over and above the time that he shall have served.

8. The K. of Denm^k shall keep his ships still at sea, from the 1st of Aprill to the 1st of X^{ber}; and they shall be bound, upon all occasions, to ioine with the Holl^d fleete, for pursuing of the English; and shall not suffer the English men of warr to come into Norway, or the Catigat. But y^e Eng^l march^d ships shall have liberty of trade in the Sound, provided that they behave themselves peaceably.

9. If the K^s of Eng^d, or his Allyes, doe in any kind dislike or take this Treaty amiss, and that such Allyes shall from thence seeke occasion to engage y^em^{selves} in the warr, by assisting of England; in that case, Denm^k and Holl^d shall ioine theyre whole forces, as well by sea as by land, for the defence of each other respectively. And theyre ioint forces shall be obliged to defend, not only y^e countryes w^{ch} they possess at present, but likewise what they shall, by theyre armes, gaine hereafter.

10. Neither party shall have power to treat, or make

peace wth the coñon enemy, without the knowledge and consent of the other. And whatsoever lands are gained by either in the time of the warr, shall be included in the Treaty and agreement wth England.

x1. If any king or prince shall, as mediator, seek to make peace betwixt the K^s of Eng^d, and the K^s of Denmark, and States of Holl^d, and shall propose such conditions as doe not satisfy y^e said K^s of Denmark and States, and such as, perhaps, the mediator shall of sett purpose make, to engage himself in the K^s of Eng^{ds} quarrell: in that case Denm^k and Holland shall stand as one body, for the maintaining of each others interest.

12. Suede, or any other Prince who hath interest in trade, shall be permitted to ioine with them, and shall participate of what profit y^e league shall produce.

13. The Treaty shall be ratified within one moneth, counting from the xith of February.

It was signed, Clarisius and Clineberg on y^e Danes part. — And by 7 Commiss^{rs} of the States Gen^l. — And was ratified at Copenhagen the 22^d of Feb^r, 1666.

Hereof I have sent a copy to M^r Coventry¹, wth some observations upon the Preamble and Articles, w^{ch} I cannot think worthy of y^r Lp^s view; and therefore I beg pardon for this presumption, and desire to be looked upon by y^r L^p, as, my L^d,

Y^r Lp^s most humble
and most faythfull serv^t,

G. TALBOT.

¹ Coventry wrote to Arlington, on the 14th of March, on the subject of this Treaty, as follows: — "I do not find the Hollanders so cheerfull upon this new purchase as they appeared at first; and finding Sweden resolved to stick by theyre league made with us, and not suffer Denmark to arme or stoppe the Sound, without opposing them, they find a greate debt releaced, a greate summe yearly to be given, and the Sound neither stopped to us, nor (it may bee) open to them. This they generally impute to the French, who, they say, assured them of Sweden in case they could fasten Denmark." This letter is in the State Paper Office.

strongs they sustained from his subjects, yet
advances for a peace, and offering terms of
That they were still of the same mind;
he had orders from his superiors to renew
of peace, though nothing would be concluded
allies, especially the King of Denmark. Yet
they would now make,—to leave it to the King
to agree to a peace, either restoring all
state they were in before the warr, or
as they now stand, and every one keepe

the summe and the effect of his whole dis-
which I said in short, I was not come thither
over those things; that the contrary to all that
was notorious enough, and had bene suffi-
good in many publick writings; that the King
had no thought of making peace without the
his allies neither (and I named Swede); nor
authority to treat or conclude any thing, onely
that would be proposed, which I had done, and
gave an account of it unto him; but, by way of
as a private person, I would aske him one ques-
on his proposition, after I had first told him that
proposed was not at all practicable, in regard the
which it was to be measured and settled, was not
upon by both sides; for wee say, and that trewly, the
began by De Ruiter, when he went into Guinee,
force of armes unjustly putt the English out of
places, as Cabo Corso by name, which they were then
ed of, and did of right belong to them; and which
had, in the name of the Guinee Company, and to
use, taken a little out of their hands, who did
fully deteine it. The question I would aske was
— If they had made this proposition to the
my master? and came of it?

He answered, that it would not be agreed

say the same for the King my master, whom I knew so inclined to peace, as I thought he was the last man of his kingdom to desire the warr; though, when once resolved, he had made it his busines, and was foremost in executing all things necessary for the prosecution of it: yet, still, so much a lover of peace, as I did believe him, of all his kindome, the most now to desire it.

Then M^r De Lionne said, he knew his Master desired nothing but peace; had no interest at all of his owne in the warr; nothing to demand, nothing to complaine of, for himself; his part being onely to keepe his faith, and what his Treaty obliged him to in honour and conscience. To which I answered, it was trew, the King my master had given his no cause to complaine, having allwaies lived with him as a good neighbor, brother, and friend; and therefore had reason to complaine, on his side, of being ill dealt with, to have warr declared against him when no cause was given for it: and that, if his would have examined well the busines before he had begun, he would have found he was not engaged by his Treaty, which did not oblige him to joyne with Holland when they were aggressors, as they had bene all along; and my Master onely upon the defensive, not to suffer his subjects to be overcome, and to be beaten out of all trade; so as I must needs say it was more gayeté on their part, than any thing else.

Then M^r Van Beuninghen began a long speech, how his superiors, and that nation, had bene forced to take up armes to defend themselves; that the English would have beaten them out of Guinee, and had done it when they were in a full peace, if they had not necessarily opposed force to force; had also assaulted them in America, and taken Nova Belgia from them; and here, in Europe, seised upon a hundred and fifty of their ships before they offred any hostility. That, notwithstanding, they still desired peace and friendship with our nation, and to give our King all manner of satisfaction; complaining to him

still of the wrongs they sustained from his subjects, yet still making advances for a peace, and offering terms of reconciliation. That they were still of the same mind; and therefore he had orders from his superiors to renew their tenders of peace, though nothing would be concluded without their allies, especially the King of Denmark. Yet this advance they would now make,—to leave it to the King of G^r Brittain to agree to a peace, either restoring all things to the same state they were in before the warr, or to take them as they now stand, and every one keepe what he hath.

This was the summe and the effect of his whole discourse: to which I said in short, I was not come thither to pleade over those things; that the contrary to all that he had said was notorious enough, and had bene sufficiently made good in many publick writings; that the King my master had no thought of making peace without the consent of his allies neither (and I named Swede); nor had I any authority to treat or conclude any thing, onely to heare what would be proposed, which I had done, and would give an account of it unto him; but, by way of discourse, as a private person, I would aske him one question upon his proposition, after I had first told him that what he proposed was not at all practicable, in regard the rule, by which it was to be measured and settled, was not agreed upon by both sides; for wee say, and that trewly, the warr was begun by De Ruiter, when he went into Guinee, and by force of armes unjustly putt the English out of those places, as Cabo Corso by name, which they were then possessed of, and did of right belong to them; and which Holmes had, in the name of the Guinee Company, and to their use, taken a little before out of their hands, who did wrongfully deteine it. But the question I would aske was this, — If they had not before made this proposition to the King my master? and what came of it?

He answered, they had, and that it would not be agreed

to; but that then they were very low, they had newly lost a battaile at sea; the B^p of Munster had invaded them with a greate army; France had not declared for them against England; they had no allies that assisted them: but now the Bishop of Munster was come in to them, and had made his peace, the King of Denmark, the Elector of Brandebourg, and other Princes of Germany joyned with them; the King of France did the same; and the case was wholly altered with them, and the offer they make to be so considered.

I answered that all this would cause no alteration in the King my master, who was still the same, and whome I never conceived to be the stronger for the Bishop of Munsters joyning with him; nor did he conceive himself to be at all the weaker for the B^p of Munster breaking his faith and abandoning him; nor did he feare them any whitt the more for the King of Denmarcks joyning with them, or the Elector of Brandebourg, or those other German Princes doeing the like, or the King of France either, who, in truth, was a greate Prince, and they were happy to have him on their side; but my Master had the right on his, and would defend it and himself as well as he could, and certainly not alter his mind upon those considerations.¹

CCI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

I SUPPOSE my L^d Arlington told you by the last, that wee are endeavouringe to borrow £100,000 of the Citty. On

¹ A letter from the same, to the same, dated "Paris, ^{1 May.} 21 April, 66," says, "M. De Ruvigni came to me this morning, to tell me that he had newly received a letter from M. De Leonne, ordering him to confirme unto me, from the King, all that had bene said at the conference, of his desires for a good peace, and of his affection unto the King my master."

Thursday next my L^d Treasurer and I are to conferr with the citty aboute it. I do not doubt but wee shall obtayne it, and then you may depende that £15,000 shall be, with all imaginable speede, sent to you. I shall be gladd to finde, upon conference with S^r James Shawe, that our creditt is better then wee take it to be; but you know he is sometimes mistaken: I hope he will not be in this. Upon all occasyons wee are told of greate prizes taken and sent into Irelande, the producte of which would make you rich: I finde no acknowledgement of this wealth in any of yours. Upon this occasyon, lett me tell you, that within this howre the Duke of Yorks Commissyoners have been with me, to lett me know that the LL^{ds} Commissyoners for pryzes in Irelande, are upon makinge some determinations in points, which will be very præiudiciall to the Duke, in which they hope to have sent some orders from hence; but his R. H. beinge at the fleete with the Kinge, I have promised to intreate your Gr^e to move the Commissyoners, that they will suspende any such determinations, till some directions may be sent by his Majesty after his returne hither.

I did, in my last, congratulate your succeſſe, which I promised my selfe you would have, upon the mutineers at Carickfergus, and was in hopes, since you could not extorte a confession from the deade or the livinge, that it was a pure mad mutiny; and, in truth, I thinke your severity hath bene exemplary, and as much as is necessary for example; and that if those who are left be distributed into severall companyes, upon the desyre of such officers who will have an eye upon them, that matter is well ended; and if Mr. Beauforte¹ gives you no disturbance, I am perswaded your progresse into the severall provences will exceedingly contribute to the peace and security of Irelande, and will rayse the spiritts and mend the humour of the people.

¹ Duc de Beaufort, who was expected to be near Brest with 20,000 men ready to embark for the invasion of Ireland. See Carte's *Life of Ormond*, ii. 328.

Our fleete will be ready within 20 dayes, in better condition than ever, which will be much sooner then the Dutch can be; however, God send us peace and health, and send your Grace agayne to mee; and blesse you, and all yours.
Wo. House, 18 of June, 8 at night.

CCII.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Madrid, 11 Sept. 1666.

MY LORD,

Yo^a Ldpps participation of all that I write in my publique letters, has made me spare yo^r Ldpp the trouble of receaving repetitions, or wasting yo^r time with matters of little importance; but since my finishing my letter to my Ld Arlington of this morning, an occasion offered which very properly directs me to yo^r Ldpp, and that is, a *message I have just now received, in high secrecy, from the Duke of Medina las Torres*¹, to this effect (as well as I can recollect soe many and various particulars, and in soe much hast as I am forced to write, that I may not loose the post; which therefore, I pray yo^r Ldpp to excuse), *that this afternoon shall be sent to me a Latine translation of the Truce of thirty years, signed by S^r R. Fanshawe, and also a vote for the Council of State, whereby a positive answer shall bee demanded of me whether I will signe the whole Treaty or not, and send it home to be ratified; and in that vote a resolution, that if I refuse to signe and insist upon the title of King for Portugall, an end shall be put to any further treating with me.* The encouragement *they have had to this way of proceeding* (he

¹ The Duke of Medina de las Torres was a member of the Council of State when Clarendon was at Madrid in 1650. Clarendon says, "he was a man of parts, and wanted nothing to be a very good statesman but application, and he was industriously without that." *Clar. Hist. Reb.* vi. 385.

says) is *letters lately received from the Conde de Molina*¹ and Mons^r Ognate², who, it seems, *hath lately been with you from Flanders*, which have been read in the Councell of State, wherein they say, that the King my master hath, in discourse, bewailed unto them the ft + b³ that is given to his owne affaires, and the interest of Europe, for the want of three letters (Rey) not granted to Portugal, and wondering that the King of Portugall should not content himself with his owne assumption of the tytle, and having it given him by other Princes (Spaine excepted); in which manner the King my master useth the stile and title of France; and sayd, that if Portugall would not accept a reasonable temperament, if it was offered them, that he would not only desert them, but deliver them up unto Spaine in half a yeare's time; and that yo^r Ldpp should express your wonder to them that some reasonable temperament was not found out in this matter, whereupon such weighty consequences did depend, and that I had full power to consider and adiust every thing necessary in this matter (which, also, Cas. Rodrigo has assured them in severall letters). Hereupon I am to be attacqued to the utmost; and the evill consequences that may happen are threatned to be layd at my dore, if I doe not presently signe the Treaty, having (as they say) full authority to doe it.

It is inculcated from the Duke, as a Cavaliero (who says I know him to be no Embustero, and, to speake the truth, he is much a gentleman), that o^r enemys, and the friends to France, in this Court, urge me to this point, hoping to gaine an advantage of breaking with us, and joyning with France; and that he most truly beleeves, if I

¹ The Conde de Molina was Ambassador from Spain to England. "A man," says Lord Clarendon, "rather sincere than subtile." *Life of Clar.* iii. 200.

² Mark Ogniate, a Spaniard, a burgomaster of Brussels in 1658. "who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the King; and being a man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his Majesty, which he ever afterwards acknowledged." *Clar. Hist. Reb.* vii. 278.

³ Sic.

give them an advantage, I shall see them instantly joyned in a league with France and Holland, how improbable soever I thinke it to be, and likewise, how remote it ought to be from the thoughts of every faithfull understanding Spaniard; soe great and powerfull traytores there are amongst them, who drive on the French interest.

The Duke also, with greate and passionate earnestness, urgeth me instantly to signe — councells it as a friend — protesting that he would do it if he was in my case; and assures me that the league will be then instantly concluded, and that they will then shew me what they need for the defence of Flanders, and how we may be usefull to each others interests. And, moreover, they tell me that they have advice out of Portugall, that the Portugueses expect that I have full power, and should soone conclude this agreement for them; but (whether the fault be on the side of Spaine or Portugall, I know not) S^r R. Southwell and I have had our correspondence obstructed these six weeks last past, much to the prejudice of the affaire.

I am likewise incouraged by the notice, that the Treaty of Commerce shall, without difficulty, be intended, as I have proceeded in my particular paper, and that whereas I have discovered to them (in part of answer to their insisting upon the word Presente Governo as substantially granting the Kingship) that the terme Presente Governo is but in the preface of the Truce, and in all the body of it the expression is the kingdome of Portugal; it is offered that, before signing, I may amend it, and put in Presente Governo into the whole body of the Truce, instead of the other. And it is suggested, as a thing not unfitt for me, to try the adding another article to that Truce to this effect, that after this Truce signed and ratified by the K. of England, Spayne shall not from thenceforth esteeme the present Government of Portugall to be that of a Rebell. And also, that it is very probable I may gett the terme of the Truce enlarged to forty yeares, for the greater security of Portugall, and their incouragement to joyne in the league with this Crowne.

In returne to this (as I have allwayes made them to *dispaire of any hopes of agreement without granting the tytle of King*), soe now I have answered, that *since they will grant*, in my *understanding*, very much of the *substance*, why should we not *resolve to make* a very insignificant *addition* of the word *King*; whereby we should *gaine divers moneths of time*, soe *pretious* in this conjuncture, and *secure the whole business*. But they reply upon me, that such a *concession would instantly make a rebellion in Spayne*; that *all the counsellis of Spaine* have been twice *consulted* in the *point* before and since *my arrivall at Madrid*, and they have *peremptorily declared against it*; — that the *Queene* being a *stranger*, and having many *enemys*, great advantages would be taken *against her* thereby; and the *young King*, when he should come to age and have a favorite, might take occasion from thence of unkindness to his mother, and those who were her *Ministers* in the Government. And they *urge hard upon me*, how much the *King my master* should consider the condition of a *widdow Queene and an infant King*, and rather *sublevate than oppresse* them; *returning me, in all occasions*, how greatly his *Ma^{ty}* is *obliged, in honour, justice*, and the *common right of nations*, by what *S^r R. Fanshaw, his Ambassador, concluded in his name and authority*.

But your Löff well knowes *my instructions* are strict to *insist upon the tytle of King*, and, till I hear farther his *Ma^{ty}* pleasure, *I dare not accept of any temperament, how specious soever it be*, neither have I *power to agree to any alteration of the Truce, though the word King had been granted, without the consent of Portugall*. I hope, in answer to some of my former letters, or, at least, to this dispatch, I shall be *farther and fully directed*. For I must acknowledge (though I know the *Spaniards do use artifice to bring me on, yet*) I am perswaded, upon good grounds, that *Spaine is taking its finall measures*, and that we are *not out of danger of a union* betweene *France and Spaine* (soe greatly is this nation corrupted in *understanding and military virtue*); and I know

that the *French depend upon the insisting of this title* opiniaterly on all sides, as *one of their best securities against the uniting of Spaine and Portugall*, which (if it could ever be brought to passe) *would, as considerably as any thing, countertermine the exorbitant growth of the grandure of France.*

In the last place, while I *expect directions from England*, I shall, *with all the dexterity I can, contrive to keep things smoothe*, giving as *little advantage as is possible, in my case*, to our *enemys*; and at present trouble yo^r Lo^{pp} noe farther than to receive my humble and thankfull acknowledgments for yo^r great favo^r, praying for the health and happinesse of yo^r whole family; remaining theirs, and

Yo^r Lo^{pp}s

Most humble and most faithful servant,

SANDWICH.

CCIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

IF I had 2 or 3 of yours upon my hande unacknowledged, I neede make no apology to you, for it is not in your power, notwithstanding all descripcōns made to you from heare, to imagyne the generall distraction all men have been these last 3 weekes. My parte, though I have not undergone any insupportable losse (yett I have lost more then I meane to bragg of), my trouble and disorder hath beene enough, for whilst I was at Whitehall (indeede, upon too reasonable a conclusion, that many houres could not passe before Worcester-house should be reduced to ashes), the horrible apprehensions my wife was in, caused all my goods to be throwne into lighters for Twitnam, and into cartes, for my new house and other places

so that I cannot yett bringe any thinge in order, or so much as find all necessary papers.

To Worcester-house I can remove no more; for, besides that my terme is expyred at Michaelmas, it would be unspeakeable, and a chargeable, trouble to retyre thither; so that I make all the hast to putt my family into my new house, and hope myselfe to be ther before Allhollantyde; and, in the meane tyme, my wife and I are sheltered by my Lady Burlington, in 3 or 4 rooms in Rochestyre-house, wher I must acquiesce, till it be counsellable to remove to my owne, wher I have rooms enough ready to remove all my family, so that I hope good fyres will remove all just apprehensions of inconveniences.¹

CCIV.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO CHARLES II.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R MA^{TY},

THIS second humble addresse is to begge your pardon for the defectivenesse of my former, occasioned by this, that having, during these three yeares and a half's banishment from your presence, extended myself often in the particular acknowledgments of my faults, I thought it most respectfull not to trouble your Ma^{ty} with repetitions, but to implore y^r pardon, in generall, for all my offences of indiscretion and passion; under which two heades I supposed all to be comprehended, not carrying with them a stayne of malice or disaffection: from faults of which nature I am confident y^r Mat^{ies} princely heart doth as fully absolve me as mine owne. But now, since I find my folly to have

¹ This letter, which is without date, appears to have been written near the end of September, 1666, about three weeks after the Fire of London.

thought that your Mat^y might retayne in your memory things formerly written by so unhappy a creature as I am, I do heere prostrate myself anew at your royall feet, with the same consternation through the sense of my fault as if I had offended you but yesterday.

I acknowledge y^r justice, in having mortified me for my rash and foolish behaviour, when I last wayted upon you in y^r closett. I ought, I confesse, to have asserted my owne innocence with more humility and modesty, and to have borne reproaches from my Sovereigne (how unexpected soever) with more reverence and submission. I doe likewise most humbly acknowledge the inconsiderateness of my zeale, which transported me at the same time to represent unto y^r Ma^{ty} the inconveniences, which I apprehended might be brought upon your affaires by the advice of others, in too feverouse and indiscreet a manner; for which presumption I allso most humbly begge y^r pardon. And if since that time the same excesse of zeale for your service, hath engaged me in any action of higher consequence, than was fitte for me to have ventured on without y^r speciall leave and permission, I acknowledge my temerity therein, and aske you forgiveness with the same submission. Nor doe I doe that for such things onely, wherein my owne judgement, and the judgement of others condemne mee; but even for those wherein I have found the greatest applause and approbation, in case I have been soe unfortunate, in any of them, as to have let fall the least word that may have beene displeasing to y^r Ma^{ty}, to whose satisfaction, above all the world's beside, all my thoughts are and ever shall be directed.

S^r, could my afflicted heart suggest any thing to me more fully expressive of the deep sense it hath of having offended you, I should poure it out at y^r feet, though the last drops of its blood were to accompany it, rather than continue the onely object from whom ever yet your incomparable good nature could so long withhold y^r pardon,

which, whether you vouchsafe me the markes of or not, I
am sure, shall never cause the least diminution in that
unalterable fidelity and affection wherewith I am,

Y^r Ma^{ty}

Most humble and most obedient
subject and servant,

BRISTOL.

This Oct. 14. (66.)

CCV.

INSTRUCTIONS addressed to THE EARL OF ST. ALBANS.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *Draught in the handwriting of Lord
Clarendon.*]

MY L^D S^T ALBANS INSTRUCTIONS, JAN. 1666.²

If, upon your arryvall at Paris, you receive cleare and
manifest information of the reality of the Fr. Kings in-
tentions for peace (which wee have to³ much cause to
apprehende), you shall, both to him and his Ministers,
expresse the same desire to be in us; and, if we may be
assured from him, that the Duch shall agree to just and
honorable conditions, wee shall be contente speedily to send
over Ambassadors, to such a place wher all the severall
interests may be debated and adjusted.

Wee are contented that all things shall stande in the
same condition they are at present betweene us by reason
of the warr, that is, that wee inioy what wee are in posses-
sion of, and they what they possess; the last Treaty being
hear to be observed in all particulars, and security given
to us for the regulation of trade and commerce out of
Europe, &c. See the last letter from the States.

¹ Lord St. Albans was about to be appointed Ambassador to the Court of
France.

² 1667.

³ too.

Qu. of Cormantyne, &c.

If you discover that the French designe, vnder the condition of each partyes keeping what they at present possesse, that S^t Christophers shall still remayne in ther hands, you shall with much warmth protest against the same, as a thing wee will never indure, and shall take the very proposition as an instance of their insincerity.

Qu. concerninge Canada and Nova Scotia, &c.

If you find that their intentions are reall for a peace, you must presse, as a matter of absolute necessity to us, that the Duch do pay us £200,000 sterlinge; or, at least, that they leave us to treat upon that pointe with them, they havinge upon the matter declared, that they will be contente to pay us such a summ; which our affaires, even in order to peace, do inevitably requyre, &c.

Wee are not to be pressed further with reference to France, then to a neutrality betweene them and Spayne, &c.

You shall, as you finde occasion, moove the Fr. Kinge to take the interest of the Pr. of Aurange to hearte in this coniuncture, &c.

Swede to be comprehended, &c.

With all care enquire what preparations are made or makinge for the war; what the strength of ther fleete is, and what they intende to do with it in case of peace.

A speedy resolution to be sent to the Kinge, what he may trust to and rely upon.

CCVI.

THOMAS THYNNE, ESQ.,¹ to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Stockholm, Feb^r 13th, 67.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EX^{CLL},

MY last conference wth M^r Biorneklo furnisheth me with matter w^{ch} may, I hope, in some measure, recompense y^e. trouble of this paper.

I perceive by him, that *Holland* appears very inclinable to peace; and it is not cleare whether they thinke it not too much, *Holland* having offered soe many indignities to *the King of Sweade*; but, upon the whole, he desired me to write into ———, to request y^t, according to *the late Treaty*, their *interest* might not bee omitted if any *new Treaty* shall happen; and I finde it was not soe much *his desire* as that of y^e *Regents*, and was y^e subject of *Tuesdays* debate. He saith, y^e *secret Article* is express in it. I told him that he could not possibly feare that, whilst the *mediation* was in the hands of *Sweades Ambassadors*. The present distrust *the States* have of *France*, makes him conclude they will readily embrace *peace*; however, I am confident y^u may make this *use* of it, — to raise y^e market with *Holland if peace*, and with *the K. of Sweade if warr*.

I am y^r Ex^{cies} most obedient

and most faithfull serv^t,

THO. THYNNE.

T Edward Earle of Clarendon, &c. &c.

¹ Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Stockholm.

CCVII.

THOMAS THYNNE, ESQ., to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Stockholm, Feb. y^e 27. 67.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r EX^{CLL},

YOU cannot imagine how greate satisfaction this Court hath received from y^r last conference with their Ambassadors, especially that his Ma^{ty} is pleased soe particularly to take care of their interest, in his Treaty with the House of Austria.

Sweade is yett free. M^r Pompone¹, seven days since, made a briske effort; whereupon high words passed betweene him and the Chancellor, in so much that two hours did scarce make them friends. The Treaty with France is not neerer an end then two yeare since, having not gone farther than Projects on both parts. The Ministers rejoyce much they are so free, since there is hope of succour from Spaine and the Emperour. Both of us ow it to M^r Biorcklo, who obstructed the conclusion of it. I perceive the Sweades Amwassadors knew the Treaty with France was under consideration, and therefore have writt to desire they will not conclude—resolving to send their little ship, with the reasons at large; but M^r Biorcklo begs this last may be secret. I shall endeavour to dispose Sweade to choose the Hague in case it be leaft to them.

The French, whose cause wants many more colours then it will beare, endeavour to make his Ma^{ty} the author of the horrid persecutions y^e reformed religion undergoes in France; and that y^e King does it onely in retaliation of

¹ The French Envoy at the Court of Stockholm.

y^e late proclamation against Papists; soe y^t his Ma^{ties} religion keeps pace wth their interest, and is either Protestant or Roman Catholicke according to the businesse they discourse of. But I have abundantly convinced this Court of the vast difference between a proclamation for the execution of established laws, and an unchristian persecution against all faith and lawe; and that nothing but a prophetic spirit could make that usage a returne to what was acted severall years after. Mons^r Pompone labours hard to justifie some parts of it; and what his eloquence cannot defend, his confidence can deny. A poor Gazettier will suffer for it; the Ambassador having sent a paper of verses into France, y^t onely mentions the last edicts, with desire he may bee severely chastised: soe dangerous a thing it is to speake truth in France.

I feare I have already too long detained y^r Ex^{cll}, and therefore hasten to subscribe myselfe, with all humility,

Y^r Ex^{cies} most obedient
and most faithfull serv^t,
THO. THYNNE.

CCVIII.

THOMAS THYNNE, ESQ. to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Stockholm, March y^e 5th, 67.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r Ex^{cll},

THIS Crowne very much wisheth a good intelligence with the Emperour, and will then possibly leave France. Mon^r Appleboom writes that Mons^r D'Estrades prevailed with De Witt to send the answer to his Ma^{ties} letter; who, after some time, assembled near 70 of the States, and drove them before him like soe many sheep: this is his own phrase. The

Sweades resident at Paris sent word that, though Mons^r De Lyonne were surprised enough with his Ma^{ties} naming the Hague, yet he was more soe after having discours't with L^d S^t Albans, — till then buoying up himselfe that he would bring goode newse ; but finding himselfe deceived, and that there was some probability of a peace with Holland, immediately applyde himselfe to De Witt, to finde new difficulties. Mons^r De Turenne seemed not to wonder much ; having never hoped soe zealously as the other. Mons^r De Lyonne desired Sweds Resident to sound his Ma^{ties} inclinations after peace with Holland, whether they would incline to France or Spaine ; w^{ch} y^e Chancellor of Sweade did declare so irrationall a doubt, that he said either De Lyonne tooke Sweds Resident for a foole, or it would bee hard for him not to thinke the other one.

This Court speaks with great veneration of the affection y^r Ex^{cll} expresseth for its concernes, as well as of y^r capacity and integrity in managing those of his Ma^{ties} : but I knowe y^r Ex^{cll} takes infinitely more satisfaction in doing well, than hearing of it ; soe that the onely acceptable service I can performe, will bee to put an end to the present trouble given y^u by

Y^r Ex^{cies} most obliged and
most faithfull humble servant,
THO. THYNNE

CCIX.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF
ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

You have so many better correspondents upon the place, who, I am sure, give you constant information of all that

is necessary for you to know; and I beinge by the continuance of this terrible weather, in no very good disposition of health, nor in excellent humour, I am not very punctuall in my intelligence, so that I have not yet acknowledged yours of the 11 of the last moneth. I am very glad if poore Mabbott be at last in any tolerable degree satisfied; beinge my selfe no otherwise concerned in his interest, then as he was at first recommended to me by the Kinge and you; and I remember it, when both you forgett it; and it is a shameful thinge to take away from such a man, what you thought once fitt to give him, and disappoint him of the recompence you promised, when you took it from him: and both you and my Lord Anglesy cannot forgett that, at the passing that Act of Parliament, both of you promised he should not fayle of his intire recompence upon that very foundⁿ; and my L^d Anglesy admitted no doubte of it when he was last dispatched; but I have done, and hope I shall not give you any more trouble in that particular.

If you have not intire satisfaction in all you have desyred in the pointe of trade, it is not the Kings faulte, who granted all very cheerefully; and I hope it is so well prosecuted by others, that you have receaved your effectual dispatche to that purpose; and it is probable wee may be wiser heareafter, and remooove the inconvenience wee have brought upon ourselves, as well as you. And I do hope that you will all bestirr your selves in some projects for trade, that may advance that kingdome much beyonnde the profit of transportation of ther cattle, though that should¹ restored againe; and if it please God to give us a peace, I am confident that worke would not be difficulte. I do not despayre of that blessinge, though I cannot tell you, I am most confident of it. There are some difficultyes more then appeare above boorde, and yett they are not such as may not be master'd. One month more will lett us see through that

¹ Sic.

whole affayre; and if ther be peace, though we have still work enough at home, which will requyre all our discre-tions, wee shall live with some content and delight; but if the warr continue, wee shall be uneasy enough. But you will have your hands full, for no doubt the French will have designes upon you; and therefore, you shall do well to finish your little thieving rebellion as soon as may be, and seize upon those fellows of name, who are like, in such a season, to contribute to any designe of mischief.

I believe, with 20 dayes, my L^d Burlington will thinke of another voyage for Irelande, to settle his affayres ther. We live with great satisfaction in each other; and truly, the addition he hath made to my poore family, hath brought me infinite content¹; so that you will believe I have no small delight in the kindnesse you shew to them all, of which they are abundantly sensible. God keepe you and yours, and give you your heartes desyre in all thinges, and bringe once more hither before I dy.

Barkelye House, this 8 of March.²

CCX.

THE EARL OF ST. ALBANS TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Paris, Mar. 26.³ 1667.

I WRITE this to speak to you of a little matter which I will not contest at all, nor have noe ayme in leading you to any other thoughts in it, for the future, then your owne sentiments suggest to you: tis only to serve for my excuse, if I were deceived, that I observe to you, I had some little

¹ Lawrence Hyde, second son of Lord Clarendon, married Henrietta, fifth daughter of Richard Earl of Burlington.

² 1667.

³ March 16. Old Style.

reason to deceive myself: tis in the particular of signing with the Denmark and Holland Ministers, in case there had bin occasion heere to have come to any signature. You may remember that the proposition of Ruvigny was positively to sign with them; and you may please further to take notice, that, I not well knowing whyther it were the intention of instruction, I made a query touching it to my L^d Arlington, of which he took a note in his owne hand, and with other queries shewed it you, and took your direction in the answeres which he oposted¹ in his owne hand in the same paper. The query was,—with whom I should sign and exchange papers; the answer,—with whomsoever the King of France should direct. And this paper, for further security, I shewed you, and you sayed nothing to me agaynst it. Tis my great desire to erect myself with you into the beleef of being a man of order, that you have this trouble; but I feare I shall not prevaile with you. I must not omit to tell you, that we are again assaulted with the news heere, of Polleroon having bin rendred, and they pretend that the Admiralties of Holland have receaved the news. This cannot be without your knowledge; soe that, till I heare of it somewhat from you, I shall not give much credit to it.

Pray be pleased to tell me whyther there be in the treaty of sixty tow any thing, besides the article of Pole-roone, that makes you affect the observation of it, for the future; or whyther there be any other regard, any difficulty like to be on the part of the Hollanders, that it should be observed, which men think there should not be; you having taken the paynes to say to me, in one of your letters, that, in some of their late letters to the King, they speak of having that Treaty observed in the future as a thing, if not desired by them, at least that they oppose not in any of the parts of it, saving in the point of Polleroon.

¹ Sic.

CCXI.

THE EARL OF ORRERY to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]Charleville, the 22^d of March, 1666.

I REJOYCE from my soule y^t you have scaped y^e gout so well this winter; and y^t yo^r L^p has cause to beleeeve, yo^r removeinge from the water side to the higher ground of Berkshire House, has been the cause of it. If I mistake not much, Clarendon House is as much higher seated then Berkshire House, as Berkshire House is higher seated then Worcester House; and thereby, in consequence, you wilbe as well again in yo^r owne house, as you have been in Berkshire House. I wish yo^r L^p, and all yours, as much happyness and health in Clarendon House, as you can wish yo^r selves; and hope y^e next winter to be able to waite on you ther, if you think soe inconsiderable a person as I am, can be servisable to y^e King, or yo^r L^p, in Parl^t. But now that Clarendon House is finished, be pleased (if at least you dare) to let me know, whither my L^d Chancellor of England, who sayd it should cost hin £20000, or my L^d Orrery, who said it would cost him £40000, was more in the y^e right.

God of Heaven bless yo^r L^p, and let him not bless me, if I be not unalterably

My most honored L^d,
Yo^r L^p^s owne, entirely devoted serv^t,

ORRERY.

CCXII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to THE EARL OF
ST. ALBANS.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

Mar. 25. 67.

I DOE very well remember Mon^r Ruvigny's letter, in w^{ch}, to manifest the cleere intentions of France, to advance the peace upon those preliminarys, he sayd, if you brought powers wth you, Van Beuningen and the Dane should be ready to sign with you; but it was as evident to us then, as it is to you now, that how sincere soever the desires might be on all sides, yett that the very reducing the whole matter into such expressions as might establish the peace, would take up very much time, and that you and Mons^r Van Beuningen would not easily adjust it; but that the same would be best done by treaty in the neutrall place; so that your busines (w^{ch} was and is the greatest) was only to secure our Master, that the King of France was reall in his mediation, and that he would, in order to it, deliver up what he had taken from us in the West Indies; all w^{ch}, we thought, would be transacted in great secrecy, and that nothing would be publique till the generall meeting. And I say still, it is evident enough, that if Van Beuningen were to beare any part at Paris with you, he would exceedingly perplex and retarde the dispatch. And methinks the answer, you say, was given to your Quere, with whom you should signe and exchange papers, — that you should doe it with whom soever the King of France should direct, — made it plaine that it had no aspect upon Van Beuningen, or the Danes, with whom you had no authority to treat, but with such as the King should employ in this secret transaction with you.

But all this matter is at an end, in the appointment of the place, where a speedy dispatch will be acknowledged to be the effect of your preparations; and you must give me leave still to say, that if France be sincere and reall (^{w^{ch}} you have brought me again to beleeve), there must be a speedy dispatch. If your news be true, as for ought I know it may, that Polleroon was fairly delivered and since retaken, the matter is concluded, in our choice of alternative: if it be not true, or true in such a manner as they will be ashamed of, I hope that such expedients will be found in the Treaty, that the peace will not be broken upon that point; to which purpose the King hath appointed the East India Company, to chuse two or three of their Company to attend the Ambassadors, that they may be ready to advise, and to conferr with those of the other Company, whereby some expedients may be agreed on.

I did tell you (and it is very true) that the Dutch, in one of their dispatches to the King, doe say that they doe intend the observation of the Treaty of 62: and, in truth, they have reason soe to doe, — they having no other tytle then that Treaty to the amnesty of the busines of Amboyna, and of infinite other damages this nation hath sustayned by them, as well in other places as the Indyees, in the later time of the last King, and since our present master came to the Crowne; amongst ^{w^{ch}} you have thought your selfe injured in your old traffique with Hasdunke. Nor can it occur to me what exceptions they can take to any other Article but Poleroon; for though Van Beuningen, in one of his fitts, talked to you of the two ships, God knows, there is so slender provision made by the Article for that affaire, — one side interpreting the word one way, the other an other way, — that I doubt not the differing partys (for it concerns only particulars) will, at the Treaty, agree upon such explanations as will putt an end to that busines; and in order thereunto, there will some well informed person in that affair attend upon the Ambassadors. But if they

shall travell again into that Treaty, there can never be an end, and that party that desires it cannot intend to make a peace. And the truth is, the matter of Poleroon is, upon the matter as you desired, referred to the King of France; for it will be in his power to dispose it in the Treaty, and therefore we hope well of it one way or the other.

Berkeshire House, 25 Mar. 67.

CCXIII.

THE EARL OF ST. ALBANS to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Paris, April 13.¹ 1667.

YOUR two of the 23^d and 25th came to my hands together on Monday night last. The matter of them being very necessary to be communicated to this Court, I went early on Tuesday morning to wayte upon the King at Versaille. He gave me a long, patient, and favourable audience, not only without herkeners, but without lookers on. I did let him know that I had letters from you, and that the disposition of the King my master was soe conformable to his, in the two points of assuring and hastening the peace, that I had thought it fitte that he should be againe, upon the occasione of thes letters, informed thereof; though I had, before, fully represented to him his Ma^{ty}s sence therein. I added, that you had let me know that you had had in England the news that they have here, that Poleroon should have bin once delivered and since retaken, but noe certainty either of the truth of the fact in generall, or the manner; that if true, and in form, that difficultye was removed by your choice of the alternative; but if not, you did fur-

¹ April 3. Old Style.

ther think, that by the justice of the pretention, and the assistance you expected from him in consequence of his promises, that, some way or other, that point would be accommodated: and that the King intended his Ambassadors should have 2 or 3 of our East India Company, persons well informed of that matter, to attend them, to confer of the expedients with those of that Company of Holland, by which it might be the best agreed.

I made him acquainted with that which you say, touching the other particulars of the Treaty of sixty two; how much it concerns the Hollanders it should be observed, and how little you can suspect the possibility of any difficulty arising from thence to obstruct or retard the peace.

I further let him know, that though the proposition in which event involved the restoring of that which hath bin taken in America, and the mutuall engagements of contracting noe ties, for the space of a year, contrary to the interests of each other, had not its effect in all the parts of it, yet it was your desire and intention that it should subsist in the particulars, and that you were ready to assure that, in the forme that had bin proposed.

I concluded that his Ma^{ty} might pronounce to himself, with all sorts of confidence, that the King my master desired nothing more earnestly then a quick end of the warre.

He told me, he was very glad to hear it, and, that being soe, the peace could not miscarry, for there was nothing more certayne then that he had the same sentiments.

I took this occasion to say to him, that, since they were both of this mind, it seemed to me very reasonable to take one thing into consideration, very seldom omitted in the like occurrencyes, and that, in this, would contribute perhaps more to the two points of securing and accellarating of the peace, then any other yet in question: that was, to begin with a cessation of armes; that I had noe order to propose it, but that I conceived nothing more to purpose.

He desired me to think well of that I sayd, and that if I had any good arguments in the point, that I would expose them; for that he had bin of a different opinion, and did beleve that a cessation, from whence the parties interested would receive presently some of the fruits of the peace, would make the peace itself be eagerly desired.

I told him, when he considered all the accidents that new encounters of the fleets might produce, that even if they did not meet, if they should be abroad, nay, any of them abroad, though all of them went not, how much the animosities, allready grown too great, might be thereby augmented, I humbly conceived he would be of another mind.

He told me that, without doubt, the matter was of importance; that, though he took some paynes in this busines, he did not take upon him to resolve things of this kind but with his counsell; that he would advise with them; commanded me to lye there all night; and that I should certainly have an answer this morning, time enough to write by the post of this day.

Monsieur De Lyonne hath brought me the answer, which being fitte to transmit to you, with all the circumstances of it, I must aske your pardon for being so long.

They profes, notwithstanding all you doe in England, (which, in my judgement, is that which ought to remove all sorts of jealousies,) and all besides that I can say, they can not, till they have an answer of the letters by S^r Thomas Bond, enter into the confidence that wear necessary for them to have, to proceed according to their inclinations. They are informed that Isola is gonne with credences from the King, to negociate somewhat, whereof they have noe knowledge, that he hath published at Bruxelles; that he hath obtayned, since his being in England, orders to be sent to my L^d Sandwiche to conclude the treaty at Madrid, without striking upon the difficulties that have hitherto

delayed it : and even with the abandoning of Portingall if that be insisted on. They do not doubt of the intervention of all the Spanish artifices for the keeping off this peace. They are equally iealous of us and of the Holanders; and these are the true reasons of thir warines and precautions. If they could be made sure of that, which is perfectly true of the Kings mind towards the peace, they would speak more frankly to him, and more boldly to the Dutche, in the behalf of all his M^a desires.

But, as the matter stands, this is that which they say : that if his Ma^{ty} please to let them know that the point of Polleroon, once delivered or not, shall be noe obstacle of the peace, that they will then, for themselves, be contented to agree a cessation for a moneth, in which time they suppose it will be evidently seen what the Treaty will produce; and will doe all that can be in their power to dispose the Dutch to the same agreement, which for themselves shall subsist, whether the Dutch be prevayled with or not; and you are to take notice, that, notwithstanding this promise of his Ma^{ty}, thir endeavours to get him satisfaction touching Polleroon shall be as instant, as they have obliged themselves to make them by thir engagements, and the secret shall be as inviolably kept as it ought to be: to which purpose, I must likewise represent to you that this resolution of rendring S^t Christophers must be kept in the same secret, it being thir purpose to make use of thir restoring of S^t Christophers for a¹ of the peace, as an argument, among others, to prevayle with them to restore Polleroon. The other point relative to the restoring of S^t Christophers, touching the year, hath the like reasons for the secret of it; and as hitherto none of them have taken wind, so they earnestly desire the same rules may be kept to the end; and it were good that thes secrets, which are of noe importance, may be soe treated on

¹ Illegible.

both hands, as that they may inductive to as entire a confidence as thir is now need of.

To conclude: you have punctually heere what they say to the cessation, which being the point most especially the subject of this letter, I neede not adde any more to your trouble. You shall have this word only: they desire heere the peace eagerly; and if they could be assured the King would certainly make it upon such tearmes as, in my opinion, he ought to make it, noething would more contribute towards the having it upon the tearmes he desires it: for if their fears of beeing disappointed of it at last, or prolonged, could be taken away, they would be much bolder with the Dutch.

CCXIV.

THE EARL OF ST. ALBANS TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Paris, April 20.¹ 67.

VAN-BUNING was yesterday with Mo. De Lyonne, to pres him to obtayn of the King the comming out of their fleet, and that they might agree of a rendezvous, and of thir undertakings for the summer; unto whiche Mo. De Lyonne making some excuses, he fell into flames and passion; told him that he hath believed, this great while, that the two kings understood one another, and that 'twas time for them to looke about, and take care of themselves. The result of this is, that, without doubt, the Dutche are not well pleased with the belief they have, that the peace is like to be desired by the two kings, and consequently likely to be made; and as consequently, though like to be made, yet will be hindred by all the impediments they can put in

¹ April 10. Old Style.

the way; and, thearfore, that it will behove those who find cause to desire it, to be watchefull upon all the practices of others that may retard it. The having of it quickly is very needfull heere, but in my judgement not more then for us. Therefore, allow me to give you this single hint,—the matter of Polleron being out of the way, it seems to me that the peace is capable of being made, in foure and twenty houres, at Breda.

CCXV.

LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF
ST. ALBANS.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Clarendon House, Ap^l 11th, 67.

YOURS of the 15th ¹, w^{ch} came to my hands the last night, hath made any enlargement upon your other of the 13th ² unnecessary. You must take great care for the suppression of all jealousies, for which there is not the least cause; and, therefore, whatever reports they heare (w^{ch} cōming, it seemes, from the Baron d'Isola, considering the character they give of him, should not obtaine much creditt), you may be confident all I have told you is true; and if my L^d Sandwich hath signed any Treaty (w^{ch} we doe not yett hear of or beleeve), it is purely a Treaty of cōmerce, and no prejudice to France; and though, it may be, Spayne would be glad to reprieve themselves a year longer from trouble, by breaking or preventing this peace, I am sure it will not bee in their power to doe it with us; and you shall see the King our master pursue it to the utmost, and observe religiously what he hath promised to France; and if a speedy peace doth not ensue, we shall have too much

¹ April 5th, Old Style.

² April 3d, Old Style.

cause to complain of France, upon whose faith we only depend. And when they see us unmoved, notwithstanding the many reports of speeches and actions w^{ch} might raise some jealousies in us, me thinks they should, in justice, restraints themselves from being transported with every discourse they heare, with what confidence soever transmitted to them. And truly, if we were not very confident of France, w^{ch} cannot be innocent if we are deceived, every weekes letters from Holland, of discourses made by De Witt, of a new peace and garranty to be entred into by France, Holland, and Denmarke, w^{ch} cannot but obstruct the mutuall confidence that ought to be between us, and I know not what declarations made by the States, that they shall not hold themselves bound by their alternative, at least, if all be not concluded within one moneth; I say, if the King our master did not really depend upon France, y^t it will bring all to passe, w^{ch} they have promised, we had too much matter for jealousy administered to us.

L^d St Albans.

CCXVI.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON TO THE EARL
OF ST. ALBANS.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

Ap^l 20. 67.

I AM confident, since you writt yours of the 20th ¹ you have received one from me, which hath given you satisfaction in any thing you doubted; and yours by this last post seemes to me to contayne all I could wish: nor is it possible for me to say more in the business of Poleroon then I have already done, of w^{ch} Mons^r Reuvigny takes notice in his to me. I say againe, that a peremptory insisting upon the

¹ 10th, Old Style.

redelivery of that Islande shall not breake the peace. If they have once delivered it up according to the Treaty, and retaken it, it falls under the alternative. If, in respect of the circumstances both in the delivery and retaking (of which we know nothing), they will not relye upon that, they cannot deny a reasonable compensation; so that it will be in the power of France to give the rule in that affayre; and we doe not doubt their justice or their kindness. I know no reason why France should deferr their enterprize an houre, being most assured that the peace shall not break on our parte, and that the King our master will most religiously observe what he hath promised: and methinks if what we heare be true, of the discovery of the designe upon Luxembourg, it is time to proceed more vigorously; and no doubt the indisposition of Hollande towards a peace (as you very reasonably observe) ought to dispose France the more vigorously to pursue it. And I am cleerly of the opinion, that the Treaty may be quickly concluded at Breda, to all points that are to be determined there; nor can any thing advance it so well, as France's insisting not to have the fleets goe, and to conclude a cessation, though but for a moneth.

CCXVII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON to THE EARL OF
ST. ALBANS.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A copy.*]

Clarendon House, Apl 29th, 67.

I HAVE both yours of the 30th Ap^l¹ and of the 4th² of May; neither of w^{ch} gives me cause of saying more, nor can I speake playner, then I have done in mine of the 22^d, and I am sure in many former letters: so that if what I

¹ April 20th, Old Style.

² April 24th, Old Style.

say doth not satisfy, you must send me the very words I must use. I told you, in my last of the 22^d, that the not delivery of Poleroone to us should not break the peace: and in mine of the 15th, w^{ch} was in answer to yours of the 20th ¹ I sayd full as much; soe that for my life I know not what expressions to add: nor have we ever sheltred ourselves under any ambiguous tearmes, but act really according to any reall expectations that can be drawn from our words. In a word, that whole matter lyes in the King of Frances hands, and he may dispose of it as he thinks fitt. That you may know how equally sollicitous we are with you, to prevent all accidents, w^{ch} may occasion disputes or unkindnesses, the King had, before the receipt of yours, given such instructions to the Ambassadors to that purpose as you could wish, and hath since enlarged them in your tearmes; and they are departed, with the best and most prudent resolutions, to performe their parts towards the French Ambassadors, as to their Masters true friends: and I hope, as soon as they come together, the cessation will be published on all parts.

I am very willing to continue the good opinion I have of the Baron of Isola, (who, no doubt, is a man of parts and experience,) yett, assure yourself, his intelligence makes no impression on us—it being very naturall and just in him to doe all he can to prevent a peace, w^{ch} is like to bring soe much damage to his Master; but if he be not able to worke more upon Holland then upon us, he will not raise many difficulties. He pretends to have great creditt with De Witt, and that it will not be in the power of France to induce Holland to accept a peace, but upon their owne conditions;—that they will strike out all those Articles in the Peace 1662, w^{ch} they dislike, particularly that w^{ch} obligeth their ships to strike: and another, by w^{ch} they are not to entertaine and shelter the rebells, w^{ch} is mutuall, and other things full of insolence. But the

¹ April 10th, Old Style.

King our master is most confident of the King of France, that he will not suffer his honour to be invaded by any insolent demands, w^{ch} must continue the breach and animosity.

I must not forget to tell you, that how angry soever the King is with the Duke of Richmond, his Ma^{ty} would have you doe him all the good you can with reference to Aubigny.

CCXVIII.

THOMAS THYNNE, ESQ., to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. Orig.]

Stockholm, May y^e 1st, 67.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r EX^{CLL},

HAVING acquainted the Chancellor with the assurance y^a were pleased to give of his Ma^{ty}'s care of the interests of this Crowne, he told me, he could answer me with an equall one; and desired I would represent to his Ma^{tie}, in the name of the King his master, that he had commanded his Ambassador in Holland, *not to conclude with Holland unlesse they made peace with his Ma^{ty}; and if the States Generall should yeild consent to Sweades proposalls, then to declare that the Kinge of Sweade would not be obliged, unlesse they made peace with the King of England.* I also informed him of the satisfaction his Ma^{tie} received from the prudent comportment of the Sweadish Ambassadors, w^{ch} he heard with great content; and then spoake how much he wished a *neerer union between England and Sweade.* I told him, I was confident his Ma^{tie} did much desire it, but that the Ambassadors had not thought fit to *declare they hope power to treat of it*, although he had assured me of it some months since: he answered, that *K. of Sweade* perceived the same by their

letters, at which he much wondered, and had some weeks past acquainted them with his resentment.

I am, with all imaginable sincerity,
Y^r Ex^{ci}es most obedient
and most faithfull servant,

THO. THYNNE.

CÇXIX.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH to THE LORD CHANCELLOR
CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

May 14. 1667.

MY LORD,

HAVING, wth my best dilligence, persued y^e severall directions sent mee, at length I have concluded this treatye, w^{ch} I shall be infinitely glad may find y^r Lo^{pp}s good liking and approbation. It were too troublesome to y^r Lo^{pp} for mee to repeate y^e dilligences I have vsed, to obtaine all y^e was desirable from this crowne, scince my dispatches to my L^d Arlington have fully declared them. The successe in relation to o^r co^merce is as good as my vnderstandinge can enable mee to wish it; that of Portugal is not soe; nevertheless it is as much as could be obtained here; and I thinke in itselfe not to be despised; though, I doubt, not adequate to y^e greate expectations of the Portugeses.

As now o^r Treaty wth Spaine stands, I verily beleeve this crowne concurs in a hearty friendship wth us; and it will be o^r interest to performe o^r parts towards them honorably and prudently; and suppress y^e piracies and depredations y^e English have exercised upon them in y^e Indias or else where; and by acts of courtesy oblidge them, and preserve y^e friendship of y^e King my master in its perfect lustre and esteeme.

Touchinge a league, I heare them often speake to mee y^t we may goe forward to greater matters, w^{ch} I expresse as greate willingnesse vnto; but shall keepe my selfe passive, only transmittinge theire propositions for y^e King my m^{rs} consideration.

The intelligences from Flanders and other parts beginn to moove these people much, to expect injuries from y^e French. I could wish y^e reason of y^e thinge had taken impression sooner, that all y^e affairs of Europe might have beene in a better disposition to restrain y^e ambition of France, then I feare now they are.

I shall not give y^r Lo^{pp} further trouble at this tyme (havige written largely to my L^d Arlington in divers affaires, w^{ch} y^r Lo^{pp} accepts wthout obliginge me to repeate) onely beseeching y^e continuance of y^r Lo^{pps} favor and good opinion; and assurance that y^e memory of y^e extraordinary obligations I have to y^r Lo^{pp} will ever make mee carry my selfe wth that thankfullnesse, respect, and affection to y^r Lo^{pp}, and y^r noble family that becomes,

My Lord,

Y^r Lo^{pps} most faithfull, &c. &c.,

SANDWICH.

CCXX.

LORD HOLLIS to THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Breda, July 28. 67.

MY LORD,

I HAVE at this present but a weake hand, and can neither write much nor well; so ill as I doubt if yo^r Lo^p will be able to reade it: yet I must give you some account of yo^r of y^e 1st, to my Lo.-Amb. Coventry, w^{ch} came after he was gone, and I opened by his commission left wth me at his

goeing. I am of yo^r Lo^{ps} opinion, w^{ch} you there expresse, that, in omnem eventum, peace or no peace, *an Ambassador from Sweden will be necessary in England*; and I had presentlie proposed your writing to Thinn, Esq^r. about it; but my hand would not give me leave. *I have since spoken with Fleming Amb^r, who answeard to serve the K^s of Eng^d he willingly would goe*; but it must be *written about to Sweden*.

I perceive by some l^{res} out of England, it is not generally approved what wee have done here, and it is but what I expected; but my conscience tells me, that in this coniuncture wee could not have done better service to our K^s and country: and, perhaps, had those censurers bene here, they would have bene as forward to have done the same thing; and, where ever they are, when pinched wth the misery and charge of the warr, would have bene the first to cry out against vs for breaking the treaty, seeing our instructions did leade us so neare to an agreement. I have it from a very good hand, that *were it to do againe, it would not be done*, and that *order is come from France to break if they can*. M^r D'Estrades hath leave to dispose of his regiment; and hath sold it to his Lieutenant Colonell for 30,000 guilders. It was interpreted that he was to returne into France, but M^r Courtin tells me otherwise; and that he is still to remaine here ambassador. They are appointing here new officers to the chief commands of their militia: and Holland proposes to make Worts and Prince Morice ioint Fel^d Marshalls, the Prince of Tarante General of the Horse, the Rhinegrave his Lieutenant Generall (who they say absolutely refuses), and one Harfelt, Commissary Generall; and the Here Van Horne Maior Generall of the army. They speake also of admitting the Prince of Orange into their Counsell of State; and offering him the generallship, so as he will renounce the State holdership; which, were no body wiser than I, he should accept, if it be reall; but I doubt it.

To the Earle of Clarendon, &c. &c. &c.

H H 2

CCXXI.

LORD ARLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]Londⁿ, Aug. 27. 67.

MY LORD,

THE last letters caryed y^r G^{ce} his Ma^{ty}s orders for the proclamation of y^e peace there¹, and these will tell you of greater troubles fallen amongst ourselves. His Ma^{ty} perswading himselfe, and advising with his R^l H. in it, y^t my L^d Chancell^r would bee much exposed in y^e next session of Parliam^t, and y^t himselfe and his affaires would bee much embarrassed; thereby recommended to his R^l H. y^e preparing my L^d Chancell^r to retire himselfe; and his R^l H. brought his Ma^{ty} such an answer backe againe, as hee beleeveth y^e thing would bee easily done. Since, all my Lorde Chancell^rs friendes, and y^e Duke himselfe, beleeveth his Lo^p would suffer much by this proceeding, have been very earnest wth y^e King not to continue his minde in it; and my L^d Chancell^r himselfe hath likewise been wth his Ma^{ty}. What hee finally resolves, I cannot really tell, but it seemes to mee his Ma^{ty} will bee prevailed wth to change his minde. If he does soe, I feare y^e next sessions of Parliam^t will bee a very troublesome one; and y^t those things w^{ch} y^e Government standes essentially in neede off, will very hardly bee attained, and my Lorde Chancell^r himselfe suffer more then hee would have done if hee had retired. I heartily pray it may be otherwise; but I feare I shall bee a true prophet, and then not bee exposed to soe much censure as I am for my opinion now.

My Lord,
Y^r G^{ces} most humble and
most obedient servant,

ARLINGTON.

My L^d D. of Ormonde.¹ In Ireland

CCXXII.

THE EARL OF ANGLESEY TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

London, August. 27. 1667.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

My last gave your Grace an intimation of things a doing here, w^{ch} made me wish your presence. The next day, after the businesse concerning my Lord Chancellor's looseing the great seale became no longer a secret, but was publickly knowen, many, out of zeale to justice and y^e King's service, interposed wth his Ma^y in his behalfe, that at least he might be left to a fair tryall, and not boaren downe by the cry of people; and yesterday the Chancellor was in y^e morning at his chamber at Whitehall, whither his Ma^y came, and they had long discourse together, y^e Duke of York also present. In conclusion, after profession of kindnesse to him, his Ma^y said he would consider further; and the businesse seemes to coole more this day; but what the issue will be, I shall not take upon me to foretell, knowing nothing of the designe or advice w^{ch} your Grace may have from better hands. This I am sure of, that the King's affaires requires the greatest unanimity and industry of his servants; and wthout a firme steadynesse in Governm^t and councells I dread what may come of things.

I remayne,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

ANGLESEY.

CCXXIII.

LORD ARLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]London, Aug^r 31. 67.

MY LORDE,

My last let^r told y^r G^{ce} in what condition y^e matter lay of y^e taking y^e seales from my Lord Chancell^r, wherein his Ma^{ty} persisted still, and last night sent for them by M^r Sec^{ry} Morrice, notwithstanding all y^e intercessions used to divert him from y^e resolution. And this night his Ma^{ty} hath given them to my Lorde Bridgman, wth whome hee sayes hee will advise concerning his Lo^{ps} successour. I cannot but still bee of y^e opinion, that not only y^e publique affaires will bee bettered by this change, but that my Lord Chancell^r will finde greater ease by it then hee seemes yet to believe hee shall.

My L^d,Y^r G^{ces} most humble servant,

ARLINGTON.

My L^d D. of Ormonde.

CCXXIV.

LORD ARLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]Londⁿ, Sep^r. 14. 67.

MY LORDE,

LAST night I received y^r Gr^{ces} of y^e 3rd¹, w^{ch} I reade to his

¹ This letter was in answer to Lord Arlington's of the 27th of August. Therein, according to Carte, the Duke of Ormond said, "I am able to make

Ma^{ty}, who tells mee hee will this night give you himselfe some acc^t of what my L^d of Clarendon did to displease him¹, besides the dissatisfaction y^e worlde hath in him; to w^{ch} I had rather referre y^r Grace, then enter myselfe into discourse upon y^e matter otherwise then I did when it came first upon y^e stage.

I am, wth all truth and respect,

My Lorde,

Y^r G^{ces} most humble and

most obedient servant,

ARLINGTON.

My L^d D. of Ormonde.

"no judgment on the expedient his Majesty found to give himself ease, and
 "my Lord Chancellor security, at the next meeting of the Parliament. If my
 "Lord Chancellor could persuade himself, that the demission of his charge
 "would facilitate a good intelligence between the King and his subjects,
 "and gain those assistances from them to support the Government, which
 "are so evidently necessary; he is not so good a servant, or so wise a man,
 "as I hope he will be found, if he would not, on his knees, lay the seals at
 "his Majesty's feet, and beseech him to take them from him. But if there
 "remain any doubt of the success of forcing him to retire, or if he is not charge-
 "able with some crime, such as put in the ballance with many years faithful,
 "painful, and comfortless service, shall outweigh it, I know the King is too
 "good a master to lay him aside (which in effect is to condemn him unheard)
 "upon popular clamour, and for uncertain advantage; whereof the one will
 "always attend men of business who rise by it; and the other should never be
 "brought in competition with honour and justice, which are the only lasting
 "supports to greatness, and can hardly fail, since they can as hardly be found
 "without the assistance of steadiness and courage." Carte's Life of Ormonde, ii. 353.

¹ The letter, thus promised by Charles II., was written, and was as follows: — "I should have thanked you sooner for your melancholy letter of
 "26th Aug., and the good counsel you gave me in it, as my purpose was
 "also to say something to you concerning my taking the seals from the
 "Chancellor; of which you must needs have heard all the passages, since he
 "would not suffer it to be done so privately as I intended it. The truth is,
 "his behaviour and humour was grown so unsupportable to myself, and to
 "all the world else, that I could not longer endure it; and it was impossible
 "for me to live with it, and do those things with the Parliament that must
 "be done, or the Government will be lost." He then promises to relate
 "many particulars on a better opportunity; adds that "this is an argument
 "too big for a letter;" and assures Ormond, that his friendship with Clarendon shall do him no prejudice. See Ellis's Original Letters. 2d Series. iv. 39.

CCXXV.

LORD ARLINGTON to THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, Nov. 26. 67.

MY LORD,

WE are not at all advanced in y^e Parliament about y^e Earle of Clarendon. This day the House of Commons have asked a free conference of y^e Lordes, w^{ch} I thinke wee shall agree to to-morrowe, though the party bee stronge in the House, that, insisting upon y^e priviledge, would refuse it. What I told y^r G^{ce} in my last, of y^e Earle of Clarendon's thoughts of retiring himselfe, hath shewed itselfe farther, for hee hath founde meanes to aske his Ma^{ty} to approve it; but unsuccessfully, the King detesting y^e proposition, and y^e manner of it, having discovered it was artificially made, to take advantage by it. If the free conference bee allowd off, perhaps y^e House of Commons may be induced to bring up speciall matter, w^{ch} will bee followed by y^e Earle of Clarendon's confinement. If they doe not, either a bill or remonstrance will come forth. Wee have now not above 3 weekes more to sitt, y^e Houses inclining much to an adjournment all the holy dayes; and some are of opinion wee should, even at y^t time, prorogue y^e Parl^{mt} to a further meeting.

I am, with all truth and respect,

My Lorde,

Y^r G^{ces} most humble and

most obedient servant,

ARLINGTON.

My L^d Duke of Ormonde.

CCXXVI.

LORD ARLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, Nov. 67.

MY LORD,

THE House of Lords refused, all y^e last weeke, to comitt y^e Earle of Clarendon npon a generale empeachment, and, at y^e ende of it, insteade of bringing y^e debate to a decisive question, gave reasons at a conference, why they could not comply with their desires. Y^e House of Co^mmons, this day¹, gave their reasons, to suport their opinion for a comittment upon a general empeachment, by w^{ch} y^e whole is like to fall, unlesse either house recede. Wee are assured from y^e H. of Co^mons that they will particularise and specify y^e treason, rather than bee interrupted upon this punctillo; and the aprehension of their agreing thus, makes y^e E. of Clarendon (as I am assured from a very good hande) thinke of withdrawing himselfe, which I thinke weare his best course. A few dayes will shew us what ply this affaire will take.

I am, wth all truth and respect,

My Lorde,

Y^r G^{ces} most humble and
most obedient servant,

ARLINGTON.

My L^d D. of Ormonde.¹ November 28th.

CCXXVII.

SIR ALAN BRODERICK TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Novemb. 30. 67.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r GRACE,

THE 2 houses cannot yet agree upon the sequestra^{ti}on and imprisonm^t of y^e E. of Cl. notwithstanding the free conference on Thursday, at w^{ch} they fully debated each other's reasons. The L^{ds} reported yesterday w^t was offered by y^e Co^mons, but persisted in their owne, with a disparity (as wee hear) of 60 votes to 12. The Co^mons likewise reported w^t was offered by their L^{rs}, and y^e report lasting till 3 of y^e clock after noon, the debate was adjourned till Munday, this being a holy day. By all I can discern they will likewise adheere, and send up no speciall article of treason; whereupon it is much to be feared all future intercourse between them will stopp. The consequence none can foresee. Many discourses there are of y^e Co^mons drawing a remonstrance; and it was moved by my L^d Holles, that y^e L^{ds} might presently frame a declaration. A worse posture of affayres this Governm^t doth not admitt; his Ma^{ty} wanting a considerable s^ume for payment of the navye and other debts; the people full of complaints for the late mis-carriages; our neighbours arming; and wee exposed to all kind of hazards, from abroad, and at home. Our hope only growes from our past calamities, y^t God Almighty, who preserved his M^{ty} in exile, and vouchsafed that miraculous restoration, will still preserve him, and establish his throne in happiness and tranquility, notwithstanding y^e present disturbance. On Munday, Barker's cause proceeds

at y^e committee of grievances, w^{ch} shall bee carefully attended by,

May it please y^r Grace,
Y^r Grace's most obedient
and most devoted serv^t.¹

For his Grace the Duke of Ormonde, L^d L^t
Gen^l of Ireland, at Dublin.

Endorsed by the D. of Ormond — "S^r Allan
Brodricke,

30 Nov. } 67."
Rec. 6 Dec. }

CCXXVIII.

LORD ARLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, Decemb. 7. 67.

MY LORD,

OUR vacant houres out of y^e house, as well as o^r many in it, have been so wholly taken up wth one thing or another, that I finde but little time to write to y^r G^{ce}, as I would doe, though more willingly upon any subject, then that of the Earle of Clarendon, whose businesse now draws to a periode. Y^r G^{ce} founde by the last letters, that I had not guessed ill at his intention to wthdrawe himselfe: now it is confidently saide hee is arrived at Calais, though others will not beleeve but hee lyes yet conceald in y^e towne, to see what will bee the consequence of his idle paper sent to y^e House of Lordes at his retreate. If it bee in my office, it shall be sent you this night; if it bee not, it cannot but bee transmitted by other handes, for I heare cotypes of it goe abroade. His very friendes confesse hee wanted counsel

¹ There is no signature to this letter; but the handwriting and the endorsement prove it to have been from Sir Alan Broderick.

in y^e drawing of it; and though hee meant to hurt others wth it, yet hitherto it seemes to have wounded only him-
selfe by y^e disingenuity as well as indiscretion of it. This
is perhaps too much saide to y^r G^{cs}, and from one soe much
pointed at in the paper as I am. Y^e House of Com^{ms} have
sent it backe to y^e Lordes, with a desire to have it burnt by
y^e handes of y^e hangman, to w^{ch} they have not yet made an-
swer, but are going on wth y^e bill of incapacitating him to
beare office, to returne into his Ma^{ty}s dominions as longe
as hee lives, and to make it treason to corresponde wth him.
This bill was reade the seconde time this day in our house
and comitted. If it bee longe delayed, it is very likely y^e
House of Commons will proceede wth their bill of attainder,
w^{ch} they are fonder of.

I am ever, wth all truth and respect,

My Lorde,

Y^r Gc^{cs} most humble and
most obedient servant,

ARLINGTON.

My L^d Duke of Ormonde.

CCXXIX.

THE EARL OF ANGLESEY TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

London, Dec. 9. 1667.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

ON Saturday last the Lords, after a conference of many
hours, came to y^e resolution, the third time, not to com-
mitt or sequester from Parliam^t w^{thout} speciall treason
assigned.

The Commons were so offended hereat, that yesterday
they came to this unprecedented and unjust vote:—

That the Lords not complying wth the House of Com-
mons in committing the Earle of Clarendon upon their

impeachm^t of treason, is an obstruction to publick justice in the proceedings of both houses, and of evill and dangerous consequence in y^e future.

The debate was ushered in by y^e D. of Albemarle's son, a youth of 14 or 15, and chiefly carryed on by old Mr. Vaughan. Great heats and free language was in y^e house; persons of great interest and estates opposing this heat wth as much warmth, and some saying openly, what could they doe next but vote y^e Lords uselesse and dangerous, as the rump had done. All sober men wonder, and few are satisfied.

This morning a petition and addresse of y^e Earle of Clarendon was delivered, at y^e Lords' house doore, by y^e Lord Cornbury to the Earle of Denbigh, and by him presented to y^e house. It is large, and was read.¹

* * * * *

The wisest I meet wth blame his wthdrawing, and that he would leave so long a discourse to beare every man's descant, where none can make a faire exposition. Some fancy his goeing hath a rise not appearing; many are amazed; his enemyes not rejoicing. What follows, your Lo^p may expect in time.

My L^d Arlington's expression of y^e paper was, in y^e house, that it was a libell, and not a word of truth in it.

I beleeve y^e Lords will hold as firm to their rights and y^e laws as can be wished. God direct the King and his faithfull Councillors in an ill time. I wish your Grace were here. I must conclude that I may not loose the post, and am,

Your Grace's
Most humble and faithfull servant,
ANGLESEY.

¹ Here follows a description of the purport of this petition and address, which it is unnecessary to insert.

CCXXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD CORNBURY.

[From the Register Office, Edinburgh. *Transcript from the Original MS. in the College of Glasgow.*]

I HAVE written to Mr. Clutterbucke upon the state of my debts, which he hath sent me, and some exceptions thereunto, which I presume he will acquaint you with; and you shall doe well to joyne with him in the examination of them. There is another debt which, I confess to you, I neither doe nor ever shall look upon as what I am lyable to, which is noe lesse than six thousand six hundred pounds to Sir Robert Vyner. I am sure I never borrowed any money of him. It is very true that, there beinge a greater summe due to me out of Ireland, S^r James Shean (as my Lady Ranelagh can very well tell you) undertooke to negotiate the transmitting it to me; for which, as I remember, I gave him three hundred pounds, and signed such bills as he desired to S^r Daniell Bellingham, to pay the same to S^r Thomas Vyner, or his assignee. S^r James Shean treated and agreed with S^r Thomas upon it; for all was done in the life of S^r Thomas, when the money was to be paid to me. There being money accounts between S^r Thomas Vyner and S^r Daniell Bellingham, S^r Thomas demanded a note under my hand, that if S^r Daniell should not pay the money, I should see it discharged; which had never been mentioned before the very day that I was to receive the money, and was obliged to pay it the same day to others: and S^r James Shean undertook to see it paid in Ireland, according to S^r Thomas his order; and I never heard, in many years after, but that the money was paid, and therefore must conclude that it was soe. All this is very particularly known to my Lady Ranelagh and my Lord Ossory. There are two debts I am most concerned

to wish paid, besides the great debt to Lory¹: the one is the six thousand pounds to Morris and Clayton, for which Longacre is on mortgage, and the money for which Blumsden is mortgaged to Alderman Backwell, and I am sure both these summes, and more, may be raised upon the sale of Longacre, which you cannot but beleeeve, if you will peruse the estimate made by S^r Hugh Cartwright; and I desire you to peruse it, that you may be able to discourse that businesse: and I am very well contented that that be sold or disposed of, as you shall thinke fitt, to the purpos aforesaid. And I shall then take breath in considering the other debts, and even for the payment of your brother, who, in the end, is sure to be noe loser; and he will tell you what my opinion and resolution is for the present, concerning the sale of Clarendon House. I have desired him to take the pains to make a journey himself to Whichcott (which his owne concernment may reasonably invite him to); and when he hath taken a full survey of it, and of the stock upon it, I hope he may be able to lett the one and sell the other: and then I would have him receive the constant rent of it, in part of what should be paid him yearly by me, and the rent must be made up as it hath hitherto beene. If this be well done, then you will have all my other revenue towards keeping the house, and towards my support, after your brother and your sister are satisfied; and this being done, I shall have a better prospect into my affaires.

But I have reprehended Mr. Clutterbucke for sending me only an account of what he hath paid, and noe manner of account of what he hath received; which, I presume, he could have done if he had been carefull enough in making such an account, which it is as strange he should not have done, for his own sake as well as mine, that we may know what is arrear in the tenants' hands: without which sufficient care cannot be taken to recover it. I have charged him

¹ Lord Clarendon's second son, Lawrence, afterwards Earl of Rochester.

to lose noe time in making this account perfect; and I doe conjure you never to lett him be at quiett till he hath done it. I have a very good opinion of his honesty; but I doubt very much that, by his frequent indispositions, and some lazynesse and negligence, he may be more remisse in the exact keeping his account than is good for him or me: and I am sure it is very uneasy to me, after these three years absence (neare foure years), I should not know what hath beene received out of my estate since my coming away. And I find some debts remain still unpaid, to which I assigned particular summes that were then in view. But I shall be very unsatisfyed till you receive that account, which I desire may be transmitted to me by some safe opportunity, of which you cannot be without many.

I cannot but still put you in mind of Cornbury, to the care whereof methinks your own concernment should invite you, and to make all things handsome for your own reception. I am sure, if what I assigned for that purpose had been laid out in it, since I came away, much would have been done; at least, all things would have been cleane: and I pray tell me what is done there, and how neare all the new building is made inhabitable; and I hope you and your wife, and all your company, will spend att least one month together at Cornbury this summer, and then I shall think you will indeed take some care of it.

You know that I purchased of S^r William Poulteney the highway behind the house to Mr. Lee's, whose lease for the passage was then expired, as himselfe confessed to me, — nor hath any body a right to pass that way; and I intended to have made it an orchard. I pray cause both ends to be made up, with a good ditch, or other fence, against winter, that noe body may goe that way; and then, make the ground fitt to be planted as the gardner shall direct; and I am not able to make any objection, or raise any scruple, why this should not be done. And I would be very glad that you would, in all places, plant as much as you cann, and even repair those

wallnutt trees in the ground which are decayed, for (that I may conclude with somewhat to make you merry), I doe hope to live (as old as I am) to see all that ground enclosed with a good brick wall. God blesse you.

Moulines, 9 June.¹

Endorsed — "Lord Clar. to his Children.

Moulines, June, 1671."

CCXXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD CORNBURY.

[From the Register Office, Edinburgh. *Transcript from the Original MS. in the College of Glasgow.*]

I HAVE, I thanke God, enjoyed very much comforte in your brothers company, and have conversed as fully of all particulars as if we had bene all 3 together; and yet ther will be argument enough to spende as much tyme, when you have leave and leisure, to give me the same vissit; which how much soever I longe for, I would by no means have you undertake it till your wife be brought to bedd; nor ought you to be absent from her in such a season, and as little to disturbe her with any feares or apprehensions. When that good tyme is over, and you obtayne leave as gratically as your brother hath done, you will finde yourselfe as wellcome to me as anything can bee in this worlde. I have writt to the Kinge by him.²— Whether he will receive it or no, I know not. I have done what I ought to do, which puts me at rest. You will at this tyme receive another letter from me, concerninge those domestique affaires which occurred to me upon all particulars; whereof

¹ There is no date of the year on this letter; but the context confirms the statement of the endorsement, and shows [that it must have been written in 1671.

² This letter to the King is printed in the Supplement to the 3d Vol. of the Clarendon State Papers, p. xl.

your brother is so well instructed, that he will discourse with you at large. I have refrained only for my owne hande to say somewhat to you upon yours of the 7, which was brought to me by your brother; and your other of the 27 in cypher, which came to me after the other. Sir H. Cargill and his wife have beene very civill to me, and we have beene as much together, and conversed as freely, as was possible for the tyme, and I shall see him before he leaves these parts. It was none of my faulte that his brother and I were not better acquainted. I am sure I did my parte towards it, and cannot but thinke that he was behinde hande with me in pointe of courtesy. I like M^r Ferett very well, and believe that he will not regret his spending his tyme with me. You never told me till this letter what promise you had made to him. It is a very liberal allowance, and I thank you for your purpose of sending it over and above my assignment. It will enable me to continue M^r Allertree, which in some respects may, for some tyme, be convenient, and which otherwise I should not have been able to have done.

Now, to your other in cypher:—I doe thanke you, with all my hearte, for your so cheerful acceptinge the bill I sent you so unwillingly, and for all the kindnesse you expresse thereupon, which shall not make me less carefull and circumspecte in my expences. And, upon my conscience, if I had foreseen that my remove, and setlinge here, would have cost me as much as it hath done, I should rather have chosen to have stayed still at Montpelier, with what inconvenience soever: yett I confesse I am gladd I am come so much neerer to you, and I hope I shall finde this place much better. I am sure it will be much cheaper; and I doubt not but my usuall assignem^t will provide me, for the tyme to come, all that is necessary: but then I must desyre that some parte of it may be ready against Michaelmasse; and I thinke the same friende (except you knowe a better way) will best give order for my accommodation. You finde, by myne to M^r Steele, how much I was of your

minde concerninge your leavinge the Courte, if that had fallen out concerninge the Dutchesse which you apprehended; but the case being now altered, I would by no means have you thinke of partinge with your place, as longe as you can honestly keepe it. I hope the Kinge will be more gracious to you, and remember how soone you begann to do him services: and I hope the Duke will not be lesse gracious to you, nor thinke the worse of you, for beinge tender of his honour and welfare. I am very sorry that he is offended with the two Bishops you mention, and as sorry that they should, in such a particular, divide from my Lord of Canterbury, or give him occasion to take anything unkindly from them. There is no doubt, every goode man would departe from many little things, if the doing so would firmly unite the Presbiterians to the Church—which, I confesse, I thinke impossible; for the truth is, *they are a packe of knaves*; and they who appeare lesse vyolent will immediately lose the party, who will make no other use of the concessions which shall be granted to them, than to aske new and more unreasonable thinges: and any kind of yielding, that proves not fully effectual, will be attended with greate scandal to the Church, which shall never be thought to be settled upon any sound¹, but still to hearken to new expedients. If the Presbiterians once believed that nothing would be yielded to them, and all their hopes were desperate, it would be the best measure to reduce them. *They are as much afrayde of the Papists and Independants too*, as any sober man can be, and will joyne against them as soone as their own hopes are at an end. I heare S^r Will. Portman is come into France, but I doubt he will hardly come to Bourbon this season. I shall be gladd to see him; and if you have writt by him, methinks he should sende your letter to me. Your letter will say all the rest. God blesse you and your wife, and all the rest. I have proposed to your brother, after he hath visited

¹ Illegible.

Whichcott, and let it at as good a rate as he can, that he will charge himselfe with the receipte of the rent, in part of what is his dew; and for the remainder, that he will take the rent at Twitnam, and the £80 yearly that M^r Granger payes me at Witny, which I hope, with Whichcott may amount to his £600. If it doth not, it may be made up with the rent of the ground behinde the house, or any other rent, that it may be compleate, and so M^r Clutterbookes receipte may be so much abated.

Moulines, this }
10th of June. }

CCXXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD LOCKHART.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

MY LORD,

I COULD not be surprized with any personal civility from your Lordship, being enough informed of the generosity of your nature, and having never believed that you wished me ill: but that you should think fitt to signify this much to me your selfe in soe oblidging a way, hath so far exceeded my expectation, that I am puzzled what returne to make to it; whether, the condition I am in considered, I should not choose rather, out of respect to you, to make my acknowledgement by my Lord Abbot Mountague then by my owne penn. Yet, when I consider that you had permission to conferr this obligation upon me, I cannot imagine that my particular acknowledgement of it to your-

¹ Lockhart was a Scotchman; married a niece of Oliver Cromwell; was much esteemed by him; and made Governor of Dunkirk, and sent as Ambassador to the Court of France. He was afterwards employed in the same capacity (and, as Burnet says, through the instrumentality of Lauderdale) by Charles II. in '1671. Burnet says, "He was both a wise and a gallant man, calm and virtuous, and one that carried the generousities of friendship very far." Burnet's Own Times, i. 131. He afterwards says, "I have ever looked on him as the greatest man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir Robert Murray." ii. 86.



Fac-Simile of an inscription on the back of a letter in the handwriting of Lord Clarendon written in the last year of his life. From the Original in the Bodleian Library. See Vol. III. p. 485.

*my letter to the Bm^{ts} affor
some postscript 19. Apr
1674.*

self, can create any guilt in you. I doe therefore choose, though in a hand at best illegible, and now shaking through much weaknesse, to assure you that I have a very just sense of your kindnesse to a man, soe totally forgotten in the world, and that I shall never forgett it. I shall make use of both their Majesties gracious concessions as soone as my strength will enable me, which it is not yett like to do, and shall ever be,

My Lord,
Your Lordships most affectionate and
most obedient servant,

CLARENDON.

Moulins, this 19th of Aprill, 1674.

Endorsed by Lord Clarendon — "My Letter to
the Ambassadour Lockharte. 19 Apr. 1674."

CCXXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LADY CARTERET.¹

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

MADAME,

I HAVE received your letter by this gentleman, and he said that the paper, whereof a coppie is mentioned to be inclosed, was forgotten, soe that I know not what the contents of it were; but my sonne assures me that it was such as your husband then desired, and he seemed then to be well satisfied with it. My friends may well remember the manner and circumstances which accompanied my owne remove; the warning whereof was soe suddaine, that it was not possible for me, in that distracted condition of my affaires, to putt them in such order, and to make such provision for the composing them, as I desired; and my being driven into the further parts of France, and my friends restrained

¹ Lady Carteret was the wife of Sir George Carteret, and daughter of his relative, Sir Philip Carteret, Kt. of St. Ouen.

from such a correspondence as was necessary, I could not suddainly apply any remedy. When I first received advertisement what debt I owed your husband, I was surprised with the proportion, and conceived it possible that part of it might be included in a debt that Alderman Backwell likewise claimed; for I remember that the Alderman had once sent a summe of money, which I expected from your husband, and then thought it to be his money; and therefore I wished M^r Clotterbooke to confer with them both about adjousting the account; and directed him to acquiesce with whatsoever your husband should determine, whose friendship I was most assured of, and did believe that he could never doubt of myne, or of my honnesty. I am very heartily sorry to receive information from my sonne, of the sharp treatment he received from my old friend, with threats that he would complaine to the King, and seize upon my land; both which I am willing he should doe, or any thing else he shall thinke fitt; though it be the first mortification I have received from any man who hath ever professed friendship for me, and makes a deep impression in me. I doe confesse that fourteen hundred pounds is too great a summe of money for your husband to loose by me, or for me to gett from him; yett I did not thinke it of so great value as would have raised such a storme against me, when it was made evident to him that it could be noe desperate debt; nor was it possible for me to give such punctuall directions to my sonne, as might not need further explanations. I may be very justly greived that any man should bee disappointed, in receiving what I am indebted to him; but I have no reason to be ashamed of it, since such summes as I might reasonably depend upon have been detained from me, and the great difficulties I still meet with in receiving any thing that is due to me in England, which cannot but breake all my measures. When my sonne returnes, he shall carry with him such orders as I can provide in the disorder of my

affaires; and by which it shall appear to your husband, that his debt is not desperate: and albeit the greatest enemies I have, and it may be that your husband hath had, will be very glad of this new misfortune that's befallen me; yett I doe assure you, I shall never faile on my part in my affection and freindship to your husband, and his whole family, nor forget the many obligations I have particularly received from your La^{pp}; which shall be alwaies acknowledged by,

&c. &c.

Roven, 5 July, 1674.

CCXXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON to LADY CARTERET.

[From the Bodleian Library. *A Copy.*]

MADAME,

I TAKE soe little delight in the apprehension that any of my friends have withdrawne their affection from me since my misfortune, that I am very glad to find the contrary by your La^{pps} second favour; and am very glad that your husband and you beleeve that I am still the same that I have professed to be; and, I assure you, would continue to be, if you were both changed from what you have beene heretofore. I am not at that ease in my fortune, as to be able to give speedy direction for the satisfaction of all that I owe; but, by the order I have given my sonne, your husband will receive a good part of what is due to him; and I hope to be able to pay the rest e'er long, and to live to give you some evidence that I am, very heartily,

&c. &c.

Rouen, 6 Sep. 1674.

CCXXXV.

THE ABBÉ MONTAGU TO LORD CORNBURY.

20 Decem. ¹ 74.

My LORD,

I HAVE received, by your favor, notice of your arival at Rouan, upon an ocasion whereof I am very sensible, and shall indeavour to render all the most dutifull offices in all events that my condition can minister. I send you here, my Lord, an answer² from Mo. le Tellier to my remonstrating to him the grace of the King's brevet³ for the aubaine of my Lord Clarendon; so that you need not apprehend any disorder in that point; and upon any unexpected trouble you may be pleased to acquaint the Premier

¹ 10 Dec. old style.

² Extract from the enclosed letter of Le Tellier. — "Je ne manqueray pas quand je seray de retour pres du Roy, de faire souvenir sa Ma^{te} quelle a accordé a M^r le Comte de Clarendon un brevet pour le dispenser de l'aubeyne, et jen donneray aussy un memoire a M^r le Marquis de Chasteau-neuf a fin quil en soit informé en cas quon demandast celuy-ci." Montague wrote again, on the 27th of December N. S. — "I send you Mo. le Tellier's letter since his returne from the King, by whiche, my Lord, you will be fully assured of all faire comportements to you in this occasion; wherein if my offices have bin serviceable, I ought to take greate satisfaction in any duty rendred the memory of so worthy a person."

³ The following is the "brevet" alluded to. It is preserved in the Bodleian Library: —

Aujourdhu y seiziesme du mois d'Aprivil xvi^e soixante dix. Le Roy estant a S^t Germain en lay ayant eu bien agreable la supplication qui luy a este faicte de la part du S^r Conte de Clarendon, qui est presentement dans le Royaume, Sa Ma^{te} a déclaré, et declare, veult, et entend quil luy soit loisible d'y acquerir et possider toute sorte de biens meubles, et quil en puisse disposer par testament, donation, ou autrement, ainsy que bon luy semblera; et que ses heritiers ou autres, en faveur des quels il en aura disposé, luy puissent succeder apres son deceder, prendre, et apprehender la possession et jouissance de ses biens meubles tout ainsy que sil estoit originaire de ce Royaume: Sauve que sous pretexte quil este estranger ces officiers de sa Ma^{te} ou autres puissent pretendre les d. biens appartenir a sa d. Ma^{te} par droiet d'aubeyne desheretier ou autrement, L'ayant quant a ce et ses hoires d. bien quilz ne soyent regnicoles habiliter et dispenser, habilite et dispense par le present brevet, lequel sa Ma^{te}, pour temoignage de sa Volonté, a signé de sa main, et faict contresigner par moy son Con^r Secret^{re} destat &c. de ses command^{rs} et finances.

LOUIS.

LE TELLIER.

President of Rouan, to whome I shall procure Mo. le Telliers letter, for the securing all apprehensions. This, my Lord, is the most usefull service I can render my noble Lord, whose frindship I doe so much vawle, and shall desire, my Lord, your inheriting that part of his goodnes to me, as,

My Lord,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
W. MONTAGU.

A Monsieur, Monsieur le Count de Cornbery,
a Rouan, chez Mo. le Count de Clarendon,
Seigneur Anglois a Rouan, Rouan.

CCXXXVI.

COMMUNICATIONS WHICH PASSED BETWEEN CHARLES II.
AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR AT VARIOUS TIMES FROM
THE RESTORATION TO THE YEAR 1667.¹

1².

Chancellor. I pray be pleased to give an audyence to my L^r Braghall³, who will say many thinges to you of moment, and I thinke with duty enough. If you will give him leave to attende you to morrow morninge at 8 of the clocke, I will give him notice of it.

King. You give appointments in a morning to others, sooner then you take them yourselfe; but if my L^d Braughall will come at 9, he shall be wellcome.

¹ Other communications of this kind may be found in the Supplement to the 3d Vol. of the Clarendon State Papers.

² The date of this paper was certainly in the year 1660; and probably not long after the Restoration.

³ Lord Broghill; created, before the close of the year 1660, Earl of Orrery. He was, on the 25th of May, 1660, appointed by the Convention in Ireland, together with Sir Charles Coote and others, one of their Commissioners, to lay before the King the wishes of the Irish nation. See Carte's Life of Ormond, ii. 204.

My L^d Craeven is Governor of Shrewsbry, my L^d Newporte L^d L^t of Shropshire : must not the towne be subiecte to the orders of the L^d L^t?

Chan. I cannot tell that ; but as soone as the soldiers are drawne out, the place will be no more a garrison.

2.

King. Is there no accounte due to the Spaniards, of the reasons why I receave the Portugall Ambassadors; and that tis only in relation to trade?

Chan. Not, till they take notice of it : but the reason is not to be answered.

3.

Chan. This businesse from Portugall, makes it necessary to call for the mony from France; therefore, I pray tell me, how that affayre stands, and why you do not send for the Ambassador's Secretary, and desyre him to write very earnestly aboute it.

King. He expects every day for to have notice of the monyes being at Havre de Grace: I will speake with him this night.

Chan. Though the particular, you know, is not to be mentioned, yett ther are many thinges arysinge from this new message from Lisbone, very necessary to be well weighed; therefore you shall do well to thinke of calling your committee together. If you intende it for to morrow morninge, you will bidd one of the Secretaries warne the rest, and that the Generall be ther.

What do you thinke of M^r Mountegues beinge Bpp of Bologne? it makes much noyse aboute the towne.

King. I cannot tell what noise it makes; but meethinkes, if he pretends no further (which I believe he will not), that noise will dye.

Chan. Trust me, it will not: I know I trouble you; but I am a foole if that, and some other thinges relatinge therto, be not worthy a serious thought by your selfe.

King. What are the other thinges relating to that businesse?

Chan. By relatinge to that, I meane what relates to France, and your mothers comminge over, which beinge to be so soone, very many thinges are worthy your serious deliberaçons, and cannot be well deliberated by others, till your selfe first weigh it, and prescribe the rule.

King. I understand you now, and will sett aside an after-noone for that matter. Rob. Welsh hath been with me, and his relation is just as the French man's was.

Chan. You will make him give it in writinge, else you will hardly know how to proceede in it.

King. It shall be done.

4.

Chan. I wish with all my hearte that we had the French money: why do you not send Fox¹ away?

¹ Sir Stephen Fox. He was Cofferer to Charles II. during his exile, and after the Restoration was knighted, and made Paymaster of the Forces. Noble, in his Continuation of Granger, says, "In the senate and the cabinet, he was faithful and eminent; in private life religious, sober, chaste; and not only instructive, but extremely pleasing, in conversation. He had seen much, and thought more: wisdom and experience united to make his years truly venerable. He died in retirement, at Chiswick, in a house he had built, September, 1716, aged upwards of ninety years, and was buried at Farley, in a church he had erected, near the hospital he had founded and endowed. Blessed in a numerous posterity, and by the surrounding poor; esteemed and regretted by a grateful public." Noble's Cont. of Granger, i. 151. He was the ancestor of Charles James Fox.

King. T'was you that desired that he might stay a day or two, or else he had been gone on Tewesday last; but now he has nothing to stay for but the winde.

Chan. I pray call to the Secretary to prepare a privy seale for the payment of 2000 to S^r J. Shaw, for so much disbursed by him, upon your order, for secrett service.

Indeede, you are to blame, that you have not yett given your warrant to my Lord Barkshyre: I pray do not defer it.

King. Is it not to make his warrant of one thousand a year, to continue for 11 yeares?

Chan. Will you never speake to my L^d ¹, nor aske him the other questyon you intended about your mothers ioyniture?

5.

Chan. Ther is one of your Atturney Generalls in North Wales lately deade: it is a place of small profit, but of great moment to your service, and ought to be in the handes of a lawyer of cleere reputation. The Judges recomende to me one M^r Walcott, a man of good name, and one of the best familyes in those partes. Is it your pleasure to bestow the office upon him?

King. With all my harte.

Chan. Did the Ambassador² say any thinge to you, of the mony?

King. He tould me the mony would be at Hauere before Fox, and hath given me a new letter to another marchant there, the former being dead.

¹ The name is torn out.

² The French Ambassador.

Chan. If you do not send that letter to Fox, he may loose his labour; but which way to send it I know not.

King. I have given it to my brother, to send it by a ketch.

Chan. I have now settled the affayre betweene my L^d Pembroke and his wife, that they vex one another no more, by beinge together; and I thinke they are now fayrely parted.

If I could this twelvemonth have gotten any tyme to have spoken to you, I should have asked, whether you intende to allow Dick Belin any thinge to lyve upon, or that he shift as he can.

Not by pençon, but say, what he shall have, and then way may be found, out of the privy purse, or by Fox, to pay it.

King. Lett Fox. pay him 400*l.* a yeare.

Chan. As long as the stocke holdes, my L^d Treasurer owes a world to that capitall.

It will be necessary to send my L^d Aubigny presently into France, I thinke.

6.

King. Will not you be heere to morrow at Councell, about the businesse of Irland?

It will be likewise necessary for you to meete me at the Generalls on Friday, before Councell, about the businesse of Portugall.

Chan. I shall attende you in both places, if I am able, the contrary wherof I do not suspecte. You have a world of other businesse to, which must be settled at my L^d Treasurer's.

King. When can we meete there?

Chan. I am afrayd, not till Sunday. Will you put us to deliver our opinions in this matter this night? It will take much tyme. My L^d Dorchester¹ must be very longe, and my L^d Anglesy as longe; since I presume they will differ both from ther learninge they last published in this place.

King. If those two learned persons could be sent to supper, we might dispatch it now; but by my L^d of Dorchester's face, I feare his speech will be long, which will be better for a collation then a supper.

7.

King. What do you thinke of my L^d Berklayes² being Deputy of Irelande, if we can finde no better?

Chan. Do you thinke you shall be ridd of him by it? for that is all the good of it.

King. The truth of it is, the being ridd of him doth incline me somthing to it; but when you have thought round, you will hardly find a fitter person.

8.

Chan. If it be possible, I will attende your Ma^{ty} to morrow morninge before I goe to the House; but if I should³, I pray be at Worcester House on Sunday, as soone as may be, that wee may settle all that which concernes France,

¹ The Marquis of Dorchester, and the Earl of Anglesca, were members of the Committee for Irish affairs; to which, on June 10. 1661, the Privy Council of England referred the proposals from the Irish Parliament, sent over by the Lords Justices, in May of that year, for the settlement of claims in Ireland.

² Sir John Berkeley, created Baron Berkeley of Stratton, by letters patent, at Brussels, May 19. 1658. He was not made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland till 1670, after the recalls of the Duke of Ormond and his successor Lord Robartes. This question must have been asked before the appointment of the Duke of Ormond to the Viceroyalty of Ireland, Nov. 4. 1661.

³ The word "not" is omitted.

so that I may speake with the Ambassador agayne the next day.

I have appointed a meetinge at my Chamber this night, to prepare an account for your Ma^{ty} concerning the Bill of Corporations¹; it beinge tyme those comissyons were dispatched, especially for London.

King. I will not faile on Sunday. Is it not necessary to have my L^d S^t Albans there, at some parte of the businesse of France? — When will our proiect passe the Par^{lt}?

Chan. The proiecte is ready to be putt into the House.

Sure, my L^d S^t Albans should not be ther, for wee must speake of these thinges to which he is a stranger. I thinke no body but you and your brother should be ther, excepte you bringe my L^d T^r²; and, indeede, I should say somethinge to you alone, when you thinke fitt.

9.

Chan. What did you meane by drectinge me, the last night, to heare S^r Io. Pettus? Do you meane that my L^d Bristolls grante shall not passe 'till he be satisfied? He demands matters of bounty. There is provisyon made to pay all that is dew.

King. Lett my L^d Bristolls grante passe.

Chan. You have a Sargeant at Lawes place voyde by the death of Sargeant Glanvill.³ All your Councell at Law

¹ The Corporation Act was passed in December, 1661.

² The Lord Treasurer, Lord Southampton.

³ In Kenner's Register is the following notice of this person: — "Sir John Glanvill, Knight, and Serjeant at Law; Speaker of the Parliament which began April 13. 1640, wherein he showed himself active to promote the King's interest and desires; was made one of the King's Serjeants, July 6. following, and received the honour of Knighthood from his Master at White-hall, Aug. 7. 1641. Afterwards, when the King was forced to leave Westminster, he followed him to Oxford, and was there created LL. D. Jan. 31. 1643. He suffered long imprisonment and severe composition for his loyalty, and when at liberty pleaded the cause of other sufferers." — "After the return of King Charles II., he was made his Serjeant also; and undoubtedly he had risen much higher, had not death prevented, Octob. 2. 1661." p. 544.

hold Sargeant Keelinge ¹ fitt to succede. He is a person of eminent learninge, eminent suffringe, never wore his gowne after the Rebellyon, but was alwys in gaole; besydes, he is at least as able as any man in Englande.

King. Lett it be done.

10.

King. The House of Co^m. have sent to me, to put me in minde of there desire to have S^r H. Vane and Lambert brought hether to there triall.

Chan. I thinke you should answer them, that the weather hath been such, as you could not hitherto do it, since they sent first to you; and now the Tearme will be done, before it is possible to bringe them to the tryall; therefore they may be sent for against Easter Tearme, when the tryall may be had.

Hath not my L^d Aubigny told you an odd story from your Frensh Lady? Is not that Venetian Secretary fitt to be looked to? Your Ma^y resolved to speake to Will Howarde about bringinge the Quaker to you upon a note under your hande, and you sayd S^r R. Harlow promised you his informa^cõns in writinge. I do most humbly beseech you presse both these particulars.

King. Will Howard will see.

11.

King. The Secretary has a letter from my Lord Retherfort, which takes notice of the rumore of parting with Dun-

¹ It appears from the "Chronica Juridicialia," that Keeling was made King's Serjeant, Nov. 6. 1661; a Puisne Judge of King's Bench, June 18. 1663; and Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Nov. 21. 1665. Burnet says he prepared the Act of Uniformity. Own Times, i. 316.



Fac-Simile of a communication between Charles II and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon in the handwriting of each, respecting the sale of Dunkirk. From the Original in the Bodleian Library. See Vol III. p. 497.

Therefore tell me to you. of your experience, how far
My exordium were worth: I had you have found for
how in the confidant how to my own the one
to often the other? I had you find for the experience
of Dunkirk to be our husband as they thought you
to you: you find, if it were fit to you to make
it, you would not only but that experience, but do
to know you might get a good sum of money: after
the advice of the Board in an offer of that money.

kerke, and desires to know the truth of it: what answer is to be given?

Chan. That the Secretary ~~nether~~ knowes or believes any such thinge; — but I would be glad to speake with you upon this argument, that it may be resolved how farr to communicate it, at the next Councell, which is Friday. How much of it have you imparted to the Queen, or my L^d S^t Albans? which De Strade desyres to know, that he may behave himselfe accordingly.

King. Dick Beling told me of this yesterday. My L^d S^t Albans did only pumpe Mons^r Destrades, and hee neede not take any notice of any thing yett.

Chan. If you had leisure this afternoone, why should you not appointe your brother, my L^d Treasurer, and the Generall, to attend you at 4 or 5 of the clocke, at Worcester House, that wee might ther agree of the whole methode of carryinge on this affayre.

12.

King. Am not I to break this businesse of Dunkerke?

Chan. Yes: and first declare that you have somewhat of importance to propose, and therefore that you will have a close Counsell, and that the Clarke withdraw: then state it as you resolved.

King. I thinke the first opening of the matter must be upon Mon^r dEstrades desire of haveing the place.

Chan. No: but upon sevrall representacions my L^d Treasurer hath made to you: of your expences, how farr they exceede your receipts — That you have spent some tyme in the consideracions how to improve the one and to lessen the other: That you finde the expence of Dunkirke

to be one hundred and thirty thousand pounds a yeere : You finde, if it were fitt to parte with it, you could not only take off that expence, but do believe you might gett a good sum of mony. ~~Take~~ the advice of the Boord in an affayre of this moment.

13.

Chan. Wee shall settle your household very hardly, if you add an expence of eleven thousande o' the yeare to what wee had proposed.

King. I do not understand this.

Chan. I was with my L^d Treasurer, that wee might call all the officers together, and putt an end to the businesse, as it is high tyme. He told me that which I have sayd above, and sayes he will send your orders to me, which it seemes S^r Th. Herbert hath in his hands : it is no lesse increase than 11000^l per aññ.

King. I do not remember that I have so much as thought of any addition, or alteration, since this new establishment hath been in vew.

14.

Chan. I doubte you do not thinke enough of the businesse of Scotlande. Do you know how these rogues in this citty and kingdome depende upon troubles ther? Downinge writes me worde by a letter this last night, that ther are greate store of armes of all kindes and ammuniçons sent lately into Scotlande from Rotterdam, Dorte, and . . .¹

I assure you, I thinke it high tyme that Middleton be sent away thither.

¹ Illegible.

King. I am of your opinion : when shall we meet about that affaire ?

Chan. Have you sayd all those gracious thinges to Middleton you resolved, of a pençõn ther, and of a pençõn heare heareafter ? You should speake at large with him by your selfe, before you call the Councell, and then, it may be, they neede not be all called ; since some thinges to be derected, may be of secresy.

15.

Chan. Is not my L^d Viscount Hereford L^d L^t for Herefordshyre ?

King. No : for I find, by most of the gentlemen of that county, that he is not at all beloved ; and, besides, I thinke the man herb John.¹

Chan. Why did you once resolve it ? which he knowes : he is honest ; and all men say, worth the cherishing.

My L^d Newcastle complaynes much, that you neither grante nor deny : why do you not tell him what you resolve to do, and the reason ?

16.

Chan. I thinke it is but just to give my L^d Worcester such papers as may manifest his debte. I tell them the trunk is in your custody, because I will not suffer my L^d Woreester to looke into it, ther beinge many papers he should not have, which were signed by your father ; but what concerns his accounte of monyes disbursed by him for your father, he ought to have, and I shall deliver them to him, if you please, as soone as I can gett tyme to peruse them.

¹ Sic.

And then you may consider of the forty thousand pounds.

King. Lett my L^d W. have his accounts and papers to that purpose, which I dout not but will bring forth a new cheate.

Chan. As troublesome as you take him to be, he is an Angell in comparison of his wife¹, and his brother John², who torment me every day, to gett them forty thousande poundes, upon this warrant from my L^d Worcester, which you have reade.

CCXXXVII.

GENERAL MONK'S PROPOSALS.



[From the Bodleian Library. *In the Handwriting of Sir Philip Warwick.*]

THE GENNERALLS PAPER.

THE sales to those *now in* service in the Army and Navy under Gen^l Monke and the Generals at sea, to be confirmed for 99 yeares, at the reserved rents not exceeding a sixt part of the full yearly value.

2. The sales of Bishops, Deane and Chapters, and Crowne lands, to all other persons not of the Army or Navy, to be confirmed for 60 yeares, at a rent reserved of the fifth part of the yearly value.

3. The sales of landes of all other persons to continue in the purchasers handes, or their assignes, till satisfaction be made with interest at six per cent., and their charges as in case of mortgages.

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Dormer, Kt., first wife of Lord Worcester. She died May 30. 1665, leaving issue one son and two daughters.

² Lord John Somerset, second son of Henry, first Marquis of Worcester. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour.

Except out of the Act for confirmation, the purchases of all persons that satt as Judges, or were Officers of or in the High Court of Justice for triall of the late King, or in the Councell of Safety; Colonel John Lambert, and all that assisted or adhered to him in his treasonable engagement in Aprill last or since.

Also, all the Crowne lands of Richmond, Holmby, Nonesuch, Greenwich, Eltham, Woodstock, Cresloe pastures, Grafton, and Windsor, to be excepted by name.

A yeares tyme to be allowed for discovries of all fraudes and deceipts; and Judges of Integrity for that end to be appointed, namly, Seriant Browne, Seriant Hales, Newdigat, Wind-Ham, Fountaine, and Tirrell, or any three of them.

Those whose estates shalbe questioned, if noe fraud found, their charges shalbe borne.

4. The annulling of all thinges past, vnder any Great Seale, since the 22th of May, 1642; except the Seale appointed or vsed by authority of Parliam^t.

5. That of the Actes and Ordinances passed by the late Parl^t, the King confirme such as both Howses shall tender unto him; perticularly to passe an Act for taking away the Court of Wardes vpon the recompense of one hundred thousand pounds p^a aññ.

6. Excepted persons in the Act of Oblivion; Lisle, Broughton, Holland, Scott, and Cooke.

7. The Genneral to have the coñmand of the army during life.

8. The exercise of the Protestant religion and ministry to continue in the same state as now they are, untill *an Assembly of Divines* of this nation shalbe called by his Ma^{ty}, soe that thereby, with the Parlm^t, the governm^t of the Church may be settled.

(The words (underscored) were Synod or Convocation, but thought fitt to be altered, least, the elections being, according to the legall forme, two in every Archdeaconry,

&c., as the Clergy now stands, they by number of votes were like to have the advantage.)

This morning (May 9th) we received the obiections following, w^{ch} were vsed to shew the necessity of vsing the present Great Seale for the present occasions.

Ob. The justice of the kingdome stopps for want of vsing the Seale.

Answ^r. Justices of Peace are ordered, by order of both Howses, to proceed. The like order may be made for any other necessary administration of justice.

The Terme is already adiourned to the two last Returnes, and it is hoped before that tyme his Ma^{ty} pleasure wilbe knowne.

Ob. The Howse of Comons cannot be filled vp vpon the double elections.

Answ^r. That may be done by order and warrant under the Speakers hande and seale, in steed of a writt. And this is very proper; because the present members doe not sitt by virtue of a writt in the Kinges name.

Ob. Noe Comission can passe for ratifying of the Act for making this a legall Parliam^t.

Answ. If this were needfull to be done before the King comes over, his Ma^{ty} hath a Seale with him.

Ob. The present Seale may be vsed, for it is not the stampe or engravment on the Seale w^{ch} is the materiall Acte, but in whose name the Seale is vsed in. And if the words about the Seale be defaced and blotted out, the other part of the Seale may be vsed.

Answ. Noe man may sett to the Seale to any thing, but he that is therevnto authorized by his Ma^{ty}.

2. The Seale must be the Kinges Seale, the counterfaiting thereof being treason.

3. The King himself hath now a Great Seale, and there cannot be two Great Seals together.

4. An order of both Howses wilbe more proper, and of better authority, than a Seale vsed as it is now desired.

These were sent from some members in both Houses,
and answered pntly ¹ and in hast.

Endorsed — “ Monk’s Proposals, &c. May 9th. ”

CCXXXVIII.

DECLARATION OF CHARLES II. RESPECTING HIS INTENDED
MARRIAGE WITH THE INFANTA OF PORTUGAL.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Official Copy.*]

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS his Ma^{ty} is resolved to declare, under his Royall hand and Seale, the most Illustrious Lady Infanta of Portugall to be his lawfull wife, before the Treaty shall be signed by the King of Portugall ; which is to be done only for the better expediting the marriage, without sending to Rome for a dispensation, which the laws of Portugall would require, if the said most Illustrious Infanta were to be betrothed in that kingdome ; His sayd Ma^{ty} the King of Great Brittain doth hereby declare, with the privy, consent, and approbation of the Ambassador of Portugall, that if all those things shall not be performed on the part of the sayd most serene King of Portugall, w^{ch}, by the Articles of the Treaty, are to be performed, before the sayd most Illustrious Infanta shall embarke on his Ma^{ty}s Navy, then the said declaration of his Ma^{ty}s taking the sayd most Illustrious Infanta for his wife, is to be taken as voyde, and of none effect. Dated this 22^d of June, 1661.

FRANCISCO DE MILLO.

CONDO DA PONTE.

CLARENDON.

ALBEMARLE.

T. SOUTHAMPTON.

MANCHESTER.

ORMOND.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WILL. MORICE.

¹ presently.

CCXXXIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE REVENUE.

[From the Bodleian Library.]

4 Septemb^r, 1660.

Kings Revenue.

The old King's Revenue
as calculated by the last
Parl^y, 4 Sep^r, 1660.

The Ballance of the old King's
revenue being examined in Par-
liament, the Receipts were found 895819^l 00^s p^r an.

Whereof illegall, and expired - 210493^l

So as now in the whole, to be
made use of - - - 685326^l 00^s 00^d

Payments exceeded the Re-
ceipts, when they were reckoned
895819^l; and yet Ship money
not included - - - 200000^l

So the Crowne then spent an-
nually - - - 1095819^l 00^s 00^d

And then the charge of the
Navy, Garrison, &c. was not
70000^l. ꝑ aññ. w^{ch} is now
700000^l. ꝑ aññ.

Cromwell's or the Publick Revenew as certified
for a yeare by S^r William Roberts, and yet
then was the forrain Excise.

Cromwells or the publiq re-
venue in time of Vsurpa^cõn, certi-
fied by S^r William Roberts, Audi-
tor of y^e Receipt, for one yeare,
from Easter 1659, to Easter
1660 - - - 708507 00 ꝑ añ.

And yet out of this, as a casual
and not constant revenue,
is to be deducted, 58822^l.

So really then it was but - 649725^l.

W^{ch} you see bears a nigh pro-
por^cõn with that of the old
Kings.

The Calculation of the Revenue by her
last Parli^t, by reason of two or three
mistakes, how it misguided the pre-
sent Parli^t.

This Kings revenue, calculated
at the highest by the Committee of
the Revenue in the last Parlia-
ment, reckoned thus —

Customes	-	-	400000 ^{li} .
Court of Wards	-	-	100000
Farmes and Rents	-	-	263598
Postage	-	-	021500
Deane Forrest	-	-	4000
Sea Cole	-	-	8000
Wyne Licenses with Addiçõs			22300

Out of w^{ch} likewise, by their owne
calculaçõn, was to bee deducted, as
Rents lost - - - 45698^{li}.

And two other main mistakes —

First, they reckon the Court of
Wards for — 100000^{li}. and p^resently
after extinguish it.

Then they reckon Farmes and Rents
at 263000^{li}. w^{ch} now is interpreted
as Crowne land rents, when indeed the
Crowne land rent is not above 70000^{li}.
p^ro añ. in itself; and so this present
Parliam^t would cast in all other
branches of the revenue w^{ch} they
finde in another paper, w^{ch} the last
Parliament had in consideraçõn, but
never past, whereof the p^rticulers are
mençõned to amount to - - - 153176^{li}.

And are as followeth —

Recusants	-	-	30000 ^{li}
Probate of Wills	-	-	20000
Ballasting Shipps	-	-	01000
Butterage	-	-	00500
First Fruits of y ^e Clergy	-	-	05646

Tenches	-	-	-	12500 ^l .
Duchy of Cornwall, and pension of Tyne	-	-	-	19502
Greenewax	-	-	-	02202
Issues of Jurors	-	-	-	01000
Postfynes	-	-	-	02272
Greenewax of Lancast	-	-	-	00400
Clerk of the Market	-	-	-	00300
Hanaper Office	-	-	-	07695
Alienaçon of Silu	-	-	-	05906
Pipe Office	-	-	-	09093
Faculties	-	-	-	01393
Alnage	-	-	-	06000
Gold and Silver transported	-	-	-	05760
Mint	-	-	-	02000
				<hr/>
				153176

No that revenue they reckoned at Alton is effectually but
Alton is not, and so they had only, to make up their
10, when they did not conceive they had 40000^l.

This conjecture must needs be true, for otherwise these
particulars were not involved in the 263598^l.; and then
they had been omitted or distinguisht, w^{ch} is improbable,
if not impossible.

As high and as true an Estimate as can be
made of the Kings Revenue.

The King's Re- venue calcu- lated as it may at the high be estimated.	Customes	-	-	-	450000 ^l .
	Excise	-	-	-	400000
	Crowne Lands	-	-	-	100000
	Post Office	-	-	-	21500
	Wyne Licenses	-	-	-	15000
	First Fruits and Tenthes	-	-	-	18811
	New-Castle Coles	-	-	-	8000
	Deane Forrest	-	-	-	1000
	Alienaçon	-	-	-	3000
	Haniper	-	-	-	4000
Receipts.	Postfynes	-	-	-	1000
	Greenewax	-	-	-	1000

Issues of Jur ^m	-	-	1000 ^u .
Alnage	-	-	1000
Butlerage	-	-	500
Faculties	-	-	300
Ballast Office	-	-	600
Coynage and p ^o mpcōn	-	-	12000

 1038711

Here the Custume is valued more

then now	-	-	150000 ^u .
Excise	-	-	150000
And yet wanting	-	-	150000

Quere Recusants.

The Kings present and publiq; Expences.

Navy, with the Stores and Ord-			
nance	-	-	600000
Guards	-	-	120000
Home Garrisons	-	-	80000
Dunkirke	-	-	113000
Tanger, Jamaica, East India	-	-	100000
And extraordinary to these for-			
rain Garrisons, Houshold ex-			
penses and Stables	-	-	150000
Trēr of the Chamber	-	-	35000
Pençōners	-	-	6000
Robes	-	-	6000
Works or building	-	-	10000
Embassado ^r and their Intelligence	-	-	30000
Privy Purse	-	-	10000
Duke of York	-	-	40000
Jewells given to Embassado ^r , and			
other p ^o sents	-	-	10000
Fees to the Judges and Justices			
of Assise	-	-	12000
Secretaries of State, for Intelli-			
gence	-	-	4000

Payments.

Angell gold	-	-	5000 ^{li} .
Pençons and Fees of Servants			
payable in the y ^e Excheq ^r	-		20000
Interest Money	-	-	-
Queene Mother	-		35000
Queene, his Ma ^{ty} Consort	-		40000
			<hr/>
			1426000

The three great Branches of the Kings
Revenue are —

Customes. Customes - - - 400000^{li}.

Whereof by a medium of 16 yeares they
amounted to but 316402^{li}.; and yet they
yielded the last year, 360000^{li}.; and so re-
ported to the Howse. Take the best 4 or 5
yeares, and the mediũ never made, 400000^{li}.

If they yield 400000^{li}. cleare rent charge,
and repayments of Customes, will make
them valuable at - - - 450000^{li}.

**Comission^{rs},
Officers,
Merch^{ts}.** } Att the Comittee all agreed in this, and
those that valued them most, never valued
them above 500000^{li}. ¶ aññ., w^{ch} in effect is
450000^{li}. cleere, w^{ch} wee see will not doe
much to what is wanting.

Excise. Excise as now settled cannot be estimated
above 250000^{li}. or 260000^{li}. ¶ aññ.

Crown Lands. Crowne Lands certified by all the Audito^{rs}
of the Revenue, and M^r Surveyo^r Generall,
70000^{li}.

Endorsed — " Account of the Kings Revenue.
For Lo. Chancello^r. Sept. 1660."

CCXL.

EXPENCES OF THE NAVY.¹

[From the Bodleian Library.]

1660.		assigned	not pd	not assigned	from ye 11 July to ye 6 th ber 1662.
July 11.	5000 " "	50000			
Aug ^r 20	100000	100000			
M th 12	135000	135000	88739 # 2 # 6	7000	Rec ^d in all at sev ^l times, vpon ye sev ^l ass ^{ts} signat ^s in this account } 351761 # 7 # 9
May 29	7000	80670	68170		
—	41210 11	41210 # 8	26210 # 8		
June 20	90000	18188 # 4 # 2	8188 # 4 # 2	71811 # 15 # 10	
—	710	710	710		
—	2430	6500	6500	2430	Pd. By my acc ^t given into my Lord High Treas ^r ending ye last of June, 1661 } 197610 # # =
Jan. 10	72051 10 3	72051 # 10 # 3	44051		Pd. ye Victuals of ye Navy since y ^e account - } 94055 # # =
28	2597			2597	
—	18766				
21	250666 13 4	59066 # 13 # 4	9066 # 13 # 4	18766	So yt I have rec ^d in money to defray all other charges of the Navy for almost 15 months, but }
M th 14	174085			191600	60096 # 7 # 9
July 21	79606 16 10			174085	
				79606 # 16 # 10	
1103293 # 8 # 5		563396 # 15 # 9	11635 # 8 # 0	541896 # 12 # 8	351761 # 7 # 9
Endorsed — " Acc ^t of Privie Seales,		As for what else hath ben expended w th in ye said time I have taken vp vpon my credit, and ye assignm ^{ts} , whereof nothing is as yet paid.			
6 th ber, 1662.					

¹ This appears to have been an account drawn up by Sir George Carteret, the Treasurer of the Navy. Warrants are extant in the Warrant-books in the State Paper Office, for the payment to him of several of the sums mentioned in this paper, and about the periods therein stated.

CCXLI.

EXTRACTS FROM A PAPER ENTITLED "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GARRISON OF DUNKIRKE." ¹

[From the Papers of Alderman Backwell ², preserved in the Banking House of Child and Co.]

	£	s.	d.
General and Trainee Officers - per ann.	8926	4	8
Field and Staff Officers - - -	655	4	
Foot Company - - - -	1868	10	8
Pay of eleven such Companies more, to complete his Ma ^{ty} Reg ^t of Guards -	20553	17	4
In all, for one Reg ^t of Foote, consisting of 12 Companies and 1200 Soldiers, besides Officers - - -	23077	12	
Pay of the Govern ⁿ Reg ^t of Foote, consisting of like Officers and Soldiers -	23077	12	
The pay of two other Reg ^{ts} of Foote, consisting of ten Companies, w th the like Officers proportionally, and 1000 Soldiers in each Reg ^t - - -	38681	1	4
In all, for 4 Reg ^{ts} , consisting of 4400 Soldiers, besides Officers - - -	84836	5	4

¹ This paper contains a detailed statement, with expenses per diem, per mensem, and per annum. I have omitted the details, and given only the total for each department, and the expense per annum.

² Edward Backwell, Alderman of London, was appointed, conjointly with Sir John Shaw, Receiver, Treasurer, and Paymaster of the Garrison of Dunkirk. By a warrant dated June 16. 1662, they were authorised to transport foreign coin, custom free, for the payment of the garrison, because "the urgency of the said payments will many tymes require forreigne species of money to be sent thither."

In all, for six Troopes, consisting of 300	£	s.	d.
Troopers, besides Officers - -	19580	3	4
Total for the Generall and Trainee Officers	8926	4	8
Total for four Reg ^{ts} of Foote - -	84836	5	4
Total for y ^e Troopes of Horse - -	19580	3	4
	113342	13	4

CCXLII.

WARRANT AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE RECEIPT OF MONEY
DUE BY THE SALE OF DUNKIRK.

[From a Copy among the Papers of Alderman Backwell, preserved in the
Banking House of Child and Co.

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS, by a Treaty between us and our good brother, the most Christian King, wee are to receive two millions of livres, which is to be counted at Paris, and from thence carryed to the sea side, to be shipped for England, in some of our ships, for our use: And whereas, by the same Treaty, three millions of livres more were to be paid in two years, by severall payments, w^{ch} now, by a contract made with Mons^r Hening, marchant (and warranted by the Count Destrades), is reduced unto the sums of two millions and five hundred thousand livres to be p^d at Paris, and two hundred and fifty foure thousand livres at London, wh^{ch} is already secured here; which sum is intended in lieu of the whole three millions of livres, in regard of the recompence and compensason for the advance thereof, and of the carriage to the sea side: These are to require and authorize you, our trusty and wellbeloved Edw^d Backwell, Esq^r, to repair to Paris, and by virtue of these credentials to apply yourselfe unto the s^d Mons^r Hening, who was acquainted

with this yo^r employment whilst he was here at London, that by him you may be introduced to the officers of his said Most Xtian Maj^{ty} as the person authorized and appointed by us: whereunto this is to give you a full commission, to see both the two millions payable by his most Christian Ma^{ty}, and the two millions and five hundred thousand livres payable by the said Sieur Hening, to be justly and truly told and counted, and put up into such a state and condiçõn as may make it fitt for carriage; and then to attend it untill it be shipped in the ship w^{ch} wee shall appoint for the transport thereof, at such port as our dearest Brother the Duke of Yorke will give you notice of. And in the execution of this service you are to use all dilligence and circumspection that the money you receive shall be good, true, and current money, both as to weight and goodness; which is expected from you, even at your own hazard. And therefore you have hereby command and liberty to refuse any money you doubt; or in case it be pressed upon you as good, then, for your own security, to make any tryall thereof you think best, by cutting the same or otherwise: and herein you are to make all speed you can possibly; and to advertise our High Treasurer of England what you finde may conduce to this service, soe tymely, that the answeres and returns that shall be made unto you bringe noe delay upon this important service, wh^{ch} is entrusted unto your experience, judgment, and good affection to our service. And as a person thus quallified, and thus entrusted, wee desire all the ministers and officers of his s^d Most Xtian Ma^{ty} to looke upon you, and to give you credit accordingly. And wee require all our owne officers and serv^{ts} to give you all assistance. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 20th of Octo^r, 1662, the fourteenth yeare of our Raigne.

By his Ma^{ty}s comm^d.

W^m. MORRICE.

CCXLIII.

MEMORIAL FROM CHARLES II. TO THE KING OF FRANCE,
RESPECTING PORTUGAL.

Jan. 1663.

THE most Christian King very well knowes the entire confidence the K. of G. B. had in his friendship, during the Treaty of his marriage with Portugal, and before the same was published; the encouragement he received therein from his Ma^{ty}, and the assurance that he should not be left to undergoe the charge of that warr alone, for the defence of Portugall, but that his Most Christian Maj^{ty}, though he were restrayned, by the late Treaty with Spayne, from doing any thing publicly, would yet very effectually assist his Ma^{ty} towards the defence of Portugall; for undertaking whereof, the K. of G. B. was in no degree enabled upon his owne account; and an assurance was given by a person then in great trust with the K. of France, that an assistance of eight hundred thousand crownes should be forthwith given to his Ma^{ty} towards that service.

With this encouragement, and relying principally upon the constant assistance of France, his Ma^{ty} proceeded to the conclusion of that marriage; and engaged himself for such supplies of horse and foote, and for the maintenance of such a fleete for the defence of Portugall, as brought a greater charge upon himselfe, then was consistent with his owne affaires, in the streights he was then in.

Afterward, and wⁿ this secret affaire was intrusted by his Most Chris. Ma^{ty} to Mons^r Destrades, he declared that the eight hundred thousand crownes, formerly mentioned, were not to be paid in lesse then two yeares; that two hundred thousand crownes thereof should be made ready with all convenient speed, and should be paid to such person whom the K. of England should assigne to receive

the same; and that the remainder of the sayd eight hundred thousand crownes should be payd, from 6 moneths to 6 moneths, in like manner, with all punctuallity: and accordingly, shortly after, the two hundred thousand crownes were delivered at Havre de Grace, to the person appointed by his Ma^y to receive the same; without w^{ch} his Ma^y would have found himsele in very great difficultys to have complied with his obligation, in sending those forces to Portugall; and depended for the future, upon the payment of the rest.

Vpon the first entrance upon the busines of Dunkirke, and when M^r Bellings was sent to Paris, to Mon^r Destrades, a principall part of his busines was, to desire Mon^r Destrades to put the King in mind of the second payment for Portugall; and he returned with an assurance, that when M^r Destrades came hither upon the busines of Dunkirke, he would likewise come prepared to give satisfaction upon the other particular. After his arrival here, and from the first entrance upon the Treaty for Dunkirke, and wⁿ the K. of G. B. promised himselfe a much greater sume of money upon the rendition of that place, all care was taken to remove any possible imagination, y^t any part of the money w^{ch} should be recd for Dunkirke, could be applyed towards the reliefe of Port., by letting Mon^r Destrades know, y^t the great motive y^t disposed his Ma^y parting with that important place, w^{ch} he knew would, upon the comon and vulgar apprehension of his subjects in generall, be a very ungracious act, was to retrench so great an annuall expence upon his revenue, and to enable himsele to pay a great debt he had contracted, for the maintaining that Garrison, and fortifying the place, and some other importunate debts, and to reserve a reasonable sume of money by him, for the suppression of any suddaine insurrection in England, w^{ch} was at that time apprehended. And shortly after, during this Treaty, upon the occasion of a letter from Mon^r Tellier to

Ab. Mountaign, in w^{ch} there were some expressions, as if there were an i^magination, that, upon his Ma^{ty} receipt of so much money for Dunkirke, he would be sufficiently enabled to relieve Portugal, his Ma^{ty} spake at large with Mons^r Destrades, taking notice thereof, and how impossible it would be for him to spare any of that money for that service; and therefore desired him, very earnestly to putt the K. of F. in mind of seasonably providing for the supplye of Portugall, by the payment of the su^mes formerly promised as aforesaid; w^{ch} Mon^s Destrades promised to doe, and seemed to have all i^maginable confidence, y^t his Master, the K. of F., had not the least thought, from this transaction of Dunkirke, to decline the performance of any thing, of what before he had obliged himself, or in the least degree to lessen his owne care for the assistance and preservation of Portugall.

At the same time that the busines of Dunkerke was adjusted, and when the Chancellor sent that Memorial to Mons^r Destrades, in w^{ch} the K. consented to accept five millions, he enclosed that Memoriall in a l^{re} to M^r Destrades, in which, after he had enlarged upon other particulars, he concluded with this clause¹, the w^{ch}, together with the Memoriall, was transmitted to his Most Christian Ma^{ty}; his Ma^{ty}, in his next dispatch to Mons^r Destrades, taking notice of it, and enlarging himselfe upon the desperate condition Portugal would bring it selfe to, by their division of councills, and the ill government of affaires there.

This being the true state of that affaire, and the whole

¹ THE CLAUSE.

I must beseech you, in your dispatch, moove the K. of F. very earnestly for some good order in the businesse of Portugall, without w^{ch} that poore kingdome must be speedily and inevitably ruined: nor is there any way to preserve it, but by sending a strong fleete, and some money, thither; for w^{ch} the K. my master is so unable, that, insteede of sending more ships, he must be compelled to call those away w^{ch} are there; and, as I have more at large assured you, that all the money the K. promised himselfe upon Dunkirke, is already owing, and must be payd, for the charges it hath put him to.

progresse it hath had, his Ma^{ty} cannot but desire to promise himselfe, that the Most Chr. K. will cause the remainder of the eight hundred thousand crownes to be payd according to his promise; all w^{ch} shall be applied to the service of Portugall, as shall be advised or approved of by his Most Chr. Ma^{ty}. And the K. of G. B. will beare that part towards the releife of Portugall, by furnishing ships and men, as, upon due deliberation with his Most Chri. Ma^{ty}, or his Amb^r, shall be thought reasonable. But his Ma^{ty}, nor any person intrusted by him, never heard of any such agreement, or of any proposition made in order to it, as that the K. of G. B. should beare three fourth parts of that charge and the French King the other fourth; w^{ch} is soe disproportionable to the ability and power of the two Crownes, and to the interest and concernement of the two Crownes, in the preservation of Portugal from the subjection of Spayne.

And the K. of G. B. having already performed, at a very great charge, all the particulars w^{ch} he stands obliged by the Treaty to performe; having kept and maintained his fleete longer there than he was obliged to, and having sent over all the numbers of horse and foote he was obliged to, except some few horse, w^{ch} his Ma^{ty} had raised, and were in readinesse to be transported, had not the Ambassador desired that the sending them over might be forborne; having likewise payed all those troopes some moneths longer than he had promised to doe, the King of G. B. is most desirous, and will readily concur in sending such a vigorous assistance for Portugal, as may give new life and courage to it, in the entrance of the campagne; all w^{ch} will be done with the more difficulty, (and therefore noe time to be lost in the determination) because there cannot be such a free communication with the Ambassador here, as would be otherwise necessary, in respect of the secrecy, with reference to France; and in respect of that there can be no direct measures

taken from the councells of Portugall, nor from what the Portugueze doe desire for themselves; they seeming only to desire a supply of money, and noe addition of forces—having an unspeakable confidence in the courage of their owne troopes, how unhappily soever conducted.

After all consultations with the Port. Amb^r upon this subject, he doth propose, that there might be a supply sent thither, of two hundred thousand crownes, to be delivered into their hands, towards their better entrance into the campagne, and some other supplys towards the payment of the English and French troopes, w^{ch} are now there; and upon that supposition, that care should be taken for the payment of them, he is willing that recruits should be sent from hence, for the English troopes, and that the remainder of the horse should be likewise transported: and this being done, (and of this he seemes most sollicitous for the two hundred thousand crownes in money) he doth, with all imaginable confidence, undertake to carry on the war this next yeare; and that Portugall shall, by the end of it, not only have preserved it selfe, in the state it is, but shall gett some advantage upon the Spaniard.

The K. of G. B. hath, upon the desire of the French Amb^r, already sent orders to putt all his troopes under the coñmand of Mons^r Schomberg; and will recruit them, or doe any thing else for the advancement of that service, that, upon the reflection w^{ch} his Most Chr. Ma^{ty} shall vouchsafe to make upon this Memoriall, shall be judged reasonable to be done by the two Crownes.

CCXLIV.

THE TRUE STATE OF THE CASE BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA
COMP^y OF Y^e NETHERLANDS, AND S^r W^m COURTEN, S^r
PAULL PINDAR, AND THEIR C^{ms}, excepted from y^e gene-
ral Abolition of Injuries in the 15^e Article of the late
Treaty at Whitehall, betweene the King and y^e States
Gen^l, Sept. the 4^e, 1662.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Orig.*]

1635. ANNO 1635, the King of Great Brittain granted,
by Patent under the great Seale of Englande, free liberty
and authority to S^r W^m Courten and his Partners to trade
vnto the East Indyas, China, and Japan; who settled Fac-
tories there at a vast expence of money and shipping
accordingly.

1636. S^r W^m Courten and his Partners became indebted
to severall persons for 150000^{li} and upwards to carry on
that trade, and afterwards dyed.

1642. Anno 1642, W^m Courten, his sonne and heire,
wth others interested, for a valluable consideãcon, assigned
(inter alia) 2 shippes, named the Bona Esperanza and Henry
Bona Adventura of London, being then upon a tradeing
voyage to India, vnto S^r Paul Pindar.

1643. The yeare following, the Bona Esperanza, in a
hostile mañer (in time of amity), was taken by 2 Dutch
men of warr and carried to Batavia, y^e Master and seve-
rall mariners being first killed; the Bonaventure was
seized on at the Island Mauritius, and both shippes, wth
their ladeing, were confiscated w^{thout} due process at law.

1645. S^r Paul Pindar, in his life time, by Jonas Abeeles,
his Attorney, soñoned the Bewinthebbers of the East In-
dia Company before the Schepens of Amsterdam, to give

satisfaction for the spoiles and damages, w^{ch} amounted to y^e sume of 75000^l sterling, as appeared by y^e depositions taken in the High Court of Admiralty of England.

1648. W^m Courten, by his losses in the East Indies, became insolvent, and absented himself from his creditoⁿ; and in his passage towards Italy, went to Amsterdam, and there gave a p^tended authority, by f^res of attorney, to Jacob Pergens, to compound the debt and damage wth the East India Company.

1648. Jonas Abeeles, hearing that Pergens was in treaty wth the East India Comp^y, did, on behalfe of Pindar, 25^e May, 1648, insinuate and protest, by a Publique Notary, to the Directors of the East India Comp^y, at their Chamber in Amsterdam, y^t if they made any payment to Jacob Pergens, it should be held invallid and of no effect, setting forth S^r Pauls assignment, as appeares by an authentique Act registered in Amsterdam.

1649. September 19^e, 1649, Jacob Pergens made a colourable agreement wth the East India Company for 85000 gilders, giveing security to indemnify the Company for that so^me of money ag^t all claymours in England, as appeares by authentique Acts in y^e Chamber at Middleburgh.

1654. May 25^e, 1654, W^m Toomes, Exec^r of S^r Paul Pindar, put in a claime for the said 75000^l, before the English and Dutch Commⁿ appointed by Olliver Cromwell and the States Gen^l, w^{ch} was referred to the Cantons of Switzerland, but nothing was concluded in it.

1662. March 22^e, 1662, upon the humble addresse of the Creditoⁿ to his Ma^{tie} for releife ag^t the Dutch, the King sent a letter to the States Gen^l, earnestly requiring p^sent satisfaction, answerable to the proofes made of the damages. And by another f^re from the King, of the same date, to S^r Geo. Downing, Envoy Extraordinary at the Hague, his Ma^{tie} co^mmanding him to presse for sattisfaction, being very sensi-

ble of the sufferings of the p̃sons interested in the losse and damages susteyned by y^e sd Dutch East India Cō.

1662. S^r Geo. Downing, in pursuance of his Ma^{ties} cōmānds, gave in seu'rall Memorialls to the States Gen^l, setting forth at large the matter of fact and fraud.

The Deputies of the States Gen^l appointed for English affaires, gave in seu'all tedious and impertinent answeres, to w^{ch} S^r Geo. Downing replied; and after many other duplicates, and explicates, and rejoinders, it was agreed at the Hague, that this clayme should be excepted in the Treaty, and ended in an amicable way, as it was depending: to which purpose a clause was inserted in the 15. Article of the Peace in these words: (viz^t) Hoc excepto quod scillicet qui se jacturam passos dicunt in duabus navibus, (viz^t) Bona Esperanza et Bona-Adventura poterint litem inceptam prosequi.

1662. October 3^d, 1662. After the said Treaty S^r Geo. Downing gave in another Memoriall to the States Gen^l, and demanded, in the King's name, sattisfacōn to be made to the persons conēd in the said ships, or to have their Lord^{sh} final answer; being the onely principall busines to be ended betweene the King and their Lord^{sh}, in the manner it was then depending.

1663. The Directors of the East India Comp^a being sent for to the Hague by the States Gen^l, they raised new disputes, and said the words of the Treaty were of a double interpretaōn, and that litem inceptam prosequi might as well be understood the suite begun at the Hague: whereupon, to satisfy them what the agreement was, and how that poynt was controverted betweene the Lords Comm^{rs} for the King and the Dutch Embassado^r, it was signified by the Duke of Albemarle, y^e Earle of Manchester, Lord Hollis, S^r Geo. Carterett, S^r Cha. Berkeley, S^r Edward Nicholas, and S^r William Morrice, that dureing the Treaty, when the Dutch Embassado^r did insist vpon it, that the busines of those 2 shipps might be left to the ordinary

course of Justice at Amsterdam, it was absolutely refused by the sd Comm^{en}, and the King himself (as he declared in Councell to the Embassad^r); but, in conclusion, it was mutually agreed upon betweene the said Comm^{en} and Embassado^r, that the said controversy should be ended in the way it was depending, as appeares by an Instrument in writeing vnder the hands and seales of the said Comm^{en}.

Notwithstanding all the sollicitacōns of S^r Geo. Downeing for the space of 20 months after, and the King's order to him to intimate to the States Gen^l, that if satisfaccōn were not given by a day c'tayne, that special L^{ies} of Reprizall should be granted to the persons interessd, yett the States wholly neglected to give any directions to the East India Company to make restituōn; but slighted all his Mat^a intercessions in that affaire.

1664. Upon the petiōn of S^r John Wolstenholme, S^r John Jacob, S^r John Harrison, Francis Earle of Shrewsbury, and divers other Creditors of Courten and Pindar, to his Ma^{tie}, for a refference to the Judge of the Admiralty to report the damages according to the proofes made there, as alsoe to have especiall L^{ies} of Reprizall under the great Seale of England, to recover satisfaction and repācōn for the said damages from the Dutch, w^{ch} amounted, wth principall and interest, upon examinacōn and report of Doctor John Exton, Judge of the High Courte of Admiralty, to the sume of 151612^{li} sterl., as appeares by a report in writeing under his hand, for w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} was graciously pleased to grant L^{ies} of Reprizall accordingly, as in justice and hono^r he found himself obliged to doe, w^{ch} were putt in execuōn by seu'all of the Credito^r, wthout any effects or returnes (as yett) for their great charges.

Endorsed by Lord Clarendon —
 "The Bona Esperanza, and the
 Harry Bonnventura."

CCXLV.

GRANT TO THE L^d CHANCELLOR CLARENDON OF A HALF
YEAR'S RENT DUE FROM SOLDIERS AND ADVENTURERS
IN THE COUNTIES OF EAST AND WEST MEATH, WEX-
FORD, AND KILKENNY.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Official Copy.*]

RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved Councillor, and right welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, wee greet you well. For as much as by our gracious Declaration of the 30th of Novem^r, 1660, for the settlement of our Kingdome of Ireland, Wee have declared, that whereas severall of the adventurers and souldiers haveing made a thankefull estimaçon of our grace and favour, expressed by that our declaraçon in settleing them in a peaceable possession and the right of what they enjoy, by our waving those many advantages devolved upon vs by lawe, have voluntarily expressed their owne willingnesse, and confidence of the forwardnesse of all the rest of their brethren, in contributing one halfe yeares full value of the profitts ariseing out of the said lands as aforesaid, sett out for the respective adventures and arreares, to be paid in one yeare, towards the releife and reparation of the losses of such as wee shall judge have most eminently acted for and suffered with us. And wee, being highly sensible of the eminent merritt and great sufferings of our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Councillor, Edward Earle of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of our Kingdome of England, do hereby declare, that the halfe yeares rent, due as aforesaid from the souldiers and adventurers now in the possession of theire states, for their arreares and adventures, in the counties of East and West Meath, Wexford, and Kilkenny,

in our Province of Leinster, in our Kingdome of Ireland, bee collected, levyed, and received by our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Councillor, Roger Earle of Orrery, and John Lord Viscount Massareen, or such as they shall appoint; and that the same, so received, may bee paid and applyed towards the losses of the aforesaid Earle of Clarendon, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns: and to the end that this our grace may bee the more effectuell to him, our expresse will and pleasure is, that noe intimations thereof be given him till hee receives the effects of this our intended bounty; and that you cause one or more effectuell grants under the Great Seal of that our Kingdome to bee passed in due forme of lawe, containing a grant from us, and our successors, to the said Earle of Clarendon, his heires, executors, administrators, or assigns, as by our Councill learned in the lawe shall be advised. And for your so dooing, this shall bee, to you our Justices, and to all other our Chief Governor or Governors of that our Kingdome which hereafter shall bee, and to all others whom it may concerne, a sufficient Warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 21st day of Aprill, in the 14th yeare of our Reigne.

By his Majesties command.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

To our right trusty and right well beloved Councillor, S^r Maurice Eustace, Kn^t, Chancellor of our Kingdom of Ireland, and to our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Councillor, Roger Earle of Orrery, Justices of our said Kingdome, and to all other our Leiu^t Deputy or other Cheif Governor or Governors thereof that hereafter shall be.

Concordat cum Originali.

CCXLVI.

GRANT to THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON, OF
THE MANORS OF LANGLEY, ETC., IN THE COUNTY OF
OXFORD.

[From the State Paper Office. *Warrant Book*, 2. p. 137.]

OUR pleasure is, that you forthwith prepare a Bill fitt for Our signature, cont. a G^t of y^e Mannors of Langley, Lee-fields, and Ramsden, wth y^e rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, in Our County of Oxon: And of all those copice woods or grounds, called or commonly knowne by y^e names of Westgrove, Faringdon, and Small Oake Copice, cont^s by estimation 55 acres, lying in Our Forest of Whitchwood, wthin y^e said county, p^rcell or reputed p^rcell of the said forest: And of all that house or lodge, called Howfrite, or Brites Lodge, and of all the grounds thereunto belonging, wthin y^e said forest. All w^{ch} were forfeited unto Us, and vested in Us, by an Act of this p^rsent Parliam^t, intituled an Act, declaring the pains, penalties, and forfeitures, imposed upon y^e estates and p^rsons of certayne notorious offenders, excepted out of the Act of free and generall pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, as part of y^e lands of S^r John Danvers, K^t, dec^d, or by whatsoever other name or title y^e same are come to Our hands, unto O^r r^t trusty and r^t well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Edw^d E. of Claringdon, Our Chancellor of England, and his heirs, wth all such particular grants, clauses, non-obstantes, and other provisions, for his better assurance thereof, as in your judgment you shall think meet. And for, &c.

Given at Hampton Court, y^e 4th of July, 1662.

CCXLVII.

GRANT TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON OF
LANDS IN WESTMINSTER.

[From the State Paper Office. *Warrant Book*, 7.]

OUR will and pleasure is, That (upon surrender to be made to us by our most dear Mother, y^e Queene and her trustees, our right trusty and right wellbeloved Cousin and Councillor, Henry Earle of St. Albans, and his trustees, and S^r William Poultney and his trustees, of their severall and respective estates, trusts, termes, and interests of, in, and unto one close, called Stone-bridge-close, containing eleven acres, abutting upon the highway leading to Hyde Parke on y^e south, on a messuage or tenement in y^e occupa^on of John Emblyn on y^e north, on a little brooke on y^e west, and on a close called Pennylesse-Banke on y^e east; one other close, called y^e Pennylesse Banke, containing nine acres and a halfe, abutting on Stone-bridge west, on a close called y^e Stone Conduit on y^e east, on y^e highway leading to Hyde Parke on the south, and y^e said messuage or tenement in y^e occupa^on of John Emblyn north; and one other close, called y^e Stone Conduit Close, abutting on y^e said Pennylesse Banke on y^e west, on a close called Swallow Close on y^e east, on y^e highway leading to Hyde Parke on y^e south, and on y^e fields where y^e Citty Conduit stands, on y^e north, containing nine acres, lying near S^t James, in y^e parish of S^t Martins in y^e Fields, in our County of Midd^x, part of y^e demeanne lands of our Mannor or Bayliffwicke of S^t James afores^d, which surrender Wee hereby declare, will, and doe attest;) you forthwith prepare a Bill for Our R^{ty} signa^r, to passe Our Great Seale, containing Our Royall Grant of all y^e s^d closes and premises, to bee surrendered as afores^d, with their

appurtenances, unto Our ^r^t trusty and ^r^t well-beloved Cousin and Councello^r, Edward Earle of Clarendon, Our High Chancello^r of England, and to Henry Lord Cornbury, son and heire apparent to Our ^s^d High Chancellor, and to y^e heirs and assignes of our ^s^d High Chancellor, for ever to be hold of us, our heirs and successours, as of our Mannour of East Greenwich, in free and coñon soccage.

And you are ¹ insert in y^e ^s^d Bill all such non-obstantes and clauses as shall be requisite to make our ^s^d grant most full and effectual. And, &c. Y^e 13th of June, 1664.

By, &c.

H. B.

To S^r Geoffrey Palmer.

CCXLVIII.

GRANT TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON OF LANDS IN LAMBETH.

[From the State Paper Office. *Warrant Book*, 10. p. 78.]

Our will, &c. That you forthwith prepare a Bill fitt for Our Royall signature, to passe Our Great Seale, unto Our ^r^t trusty, &c. Edward Ea. of Clarendon, &c., his heirs and assignes, of all that messuage or tenem^t comonly called Caroon House, with the gardens and orchards thereunto belonging; and of all that piece or parcell of land or pasture grownd called the Park, contayning by *estimaçõn* ten acres, bee the same more or less; with their and every of their appurtenances, situate and being in Sowth Lambeth, in the parish of Lambeth, in our county of Surrey, under the yearly rent of ten shillings. And you are to insert in the ^s^d bill, such nonobstantes and clauses as shall

¹ Sic.

bee requisite to make y^e s^d Gr^t full and effectuell. And for
soe doing, &c. Given, &c. the 23^d day of Aprⁱ, 1666.

By his Ma^{ties} co^mmand.

ARLINGTON.

CCXLIX.

GRANT TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON OF THE OFFICE OF RANGER, ETC. OF WOODSTOCK, ETC.

[From the State Paper Office. *Warrant Book*, 10. p. 122.]

OUR will, &c. That you prepare a Bill for Our Royall
signature, to passe our Great Seale, contayning a grant
unto Our r^t trusty, &c. Edward Earle of Clarendon, our
High Chancellor of England, of the Office of Seward^{cy}¹ and
Lieutenan^{cy} of our Man^r of Woodstock, in our county of
Oxon, and the Office of Keeper of our Parke there, and
the herbage and pastrage of the same, and Keeper of our
woods and underwoods of our s^d man^r, and Ranger of our
new Forrest there, and Gate keeper of the s^d Parke; and
the Office of Lord Warden of the Balywicke of y^e Hono^r
of Woodstocke, wthin the Forrest of Whichwood, and y^e
custody and farme of the severall mano^rs of Woodstock,
Hamborough, Wotton, Stonefield, and Combe, in y^e s^d
county, and the custody of y^e hundred of Wotton, and y^e
severall Copices of Wotton, Fewdon, Ambrose, Millwood,
Avoyle als² Alfalley Coppice and Prusey; and all lopp
and shred of trees in the old precinct of y^e s^d Forrest of
Whichwood; and all rents reserved on leases of y^e
premises, and all profits of Courts in y^e s^d mano^rs, and y^e
fines and amerciaments of Courts held wthin the said
Balywicke (except all great trees and timber trees growing
upon y^e premises), and all goods and chattells of felons and

¹ Sic.

² Sic.

fugitives, waifs, strays, and deodants, and y^e goods and chattells of felons, &c. wthin the s^d Maññ. Baylywick, and hundred of Wotton; and also Wardrobe Keeper, and Keeper of our garden and meadows wthin our s^d mannor: to have and to hold the s^d severall offices, and all other the premises, unto thes^d Edward Earle of Clarendon and his assignes during his life, or to his deputy or deputyes, in as ample mañer as S^r Phillip Herbert, S^r James Hay, Phillip Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, or Montague Earle of Lyndsey, or any others, heretofore enjoyed the same, rendering therefore, yearly to Us, Our heirs and successors, for our Mannors of Woodstock, Hambrough, Wotton, Stonefield, and Combe, and y^e hundred of Wotton, the suñe of one hundred and fourteen pounds, and two and twenty pence; and for y^e coppices, woods, loppings and shreddings in y^e old precinct of Our s^d Forrest of Whichwood, twenty pounds at Mich^a and Our Lady-day, by equall porcõns; with such other clauses, provisoes, and non-obstantes as are usuall in Gr^{ua} of y^e like nature. For w^{ch}, &c. 28th Aug. 1666.

By his, &c.

ARLINGTON.

To y^e Sollicit^r Grall.

CCL.

KING'S LETTER FOR RAISING MONEY BY LOAN AT THE
TIME OF INVASION BY THE DUTCH.

[From the Bodleian Library. *Official Copy.*]

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right wellbeloved Cousin and Councillor,
Wee greet you well. Whereas the insolent spirit of our
enemies hath prevailed so far with them, as to make an
invasion upon this our kingdome, which is in continuall

danger of their attempts upon the same ; Wee hold Ourself obliged to use all fit and proper meanes, both for the repelling of our said enemies, and the defense of our people ; which, as it cannot be better, nor (as wee conceive) otherwise done, then by the speedy raising of a considerable army, so neither can that be performed without good summes of money. Wee, therefore, relying upon your wisdom and readinesse to assist us and your countrey in this exigent, have thought fit to recomend the effectuall consideration hereof unto you, and to require your utmost endeavours forthwith to dispose and quicken the Judges, Serjeants, and other Professors of the Law in this our kingdome, to make a voluntary liberall advance of what sumes of mony they can afford, by way of loane, towards the supply of our present and pressing occasions in this time of publique danger, to be repayed them again out of the Eleven Moneths Assessment in course. We will not doubt but that your endeavours (which we assure Ourself you will engage to the utmost) will meet with so much loyalty and prudence, that Wee reasonably expect a speedy and chearfull compliance with our necessities, in this so important a juncture of affaires ; and so Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 21st day of June, 1667, in the nineteenth year of our reign.

By his Ma^{ties} comand.

WILL. MORICE.

To our right trusty and right wellbeloved
Cousin and Councillor, Edward Earle of
Clarendon, Our High Chancellor of Eng-
land.

CCLI.

HEADS OF THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST LORD
CLARENDON IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE
26TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1667.

[From the Bodleian Library.]

October 26, 67.

THE heads of particulars to w^{ch} the Earle of Clarendon was charged in y^e House of Commons, were to y^e effect following:—

That hee should receive 4000^l. for passing and supporting the Canary Patent, and should say, that as long as y^e King was King, and hee Chancellour, that Patent should stand.

That, to prevent y^e effects of impeachmen^{ts} in the House of Commons, hee had putt y^e seale to y^e pdons of the Earl of Sandwich and L^d Mordent.

That hee had alienated lands from y^e Crowne, pticularly Clarendon and Cornbury.

That when y^e Comm^{rs} of y^e Customes acted as such, hee shared $\frac{1}{3}$ of y^e profits; afterwards, when by him made Farmers, he was allowed £10000 yearly, to inable him to raise monuments of his greatnesse, whilst y^e kingdome groaned under his oppressions.

That hee received 50000^l. for y^e settlement of Ireland, and had a tribute payd him from all Governors of foreign plantacōns.

That hee had declared that the King was insufficient for Governm^t, and Popishly affected.

That when the miscarriages happned at Chatham, and all were under a consternation of spiritt, hee then took an ocaſion to psuade his Ma^{ty} how uselesse y^e 400 men at Westm^r were, fitt only to give him money, but not for

gouvernement, and advised their dissolu^{ti}on, and to governe by a standing army. It being objected how they should bee payd, hee ans^d, as his father's army was, by free quarter and contribution.

That he had been soe insolent at s'rall times, to checque the King himselfe.

That hee hindered y^e due execution of y^e late Act of Uniformity; and it might bee expected hee had no kindnes for the Act, having rifled y^e late murdered ArchBpp's papers.

That, upon all occasions, hee discouraged y^e poor and suffering Royallists.

That hee sold places and offices, and snipt with others in publique employ^{mt}.

That hee held correspondence with Cromwell, and rec^d money from him upon y^t account.

That hee had often urged it as a true doctrine, to B^p Dupper, that hee being next Minister of State to y^e King, noe power could inquire into his actions.

That before y^e beginning of y^e warre with y^e Dutch, hee always assured y^e King that there would bee noe warre with them, notwithstanding their preparation for warre, but y^t they would come to accomoda^{ti}ons with us in our demands; in so much, that if Providence, in great mercy, had not sent a wind that continued at a point soe long, to y^e keeping y^m from coming out, wee might have been ruined at first, for y^t gave us time and opp^ortunity to garde.

CCLII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE NARRATIVE OF SIR PHILIP
MONCKTON.; [From the British Museum. *Lausdown MS.* 988. f. 347.]

“UPON the 20th of Jauuary¹ following, a householder in Tutlestreet told Peterboro that M^r Jesse had lately been imprisoned about the killing of Charles Stuart; and that ther were three ordained to do the work, but were discovered by some villain; but, saith he, we will stirr, and M^r Jesse, M^r Griffin, M^r Tull, M^r Harrison, Capt^a Malbourn, and Captain Larking have their meetings in London to carry on the work of the Lord, and they were here not many days since. I went immediately with this information to the Lord Chancellors house, and sent him word that I had a paper of concernment to impart unto him; upon which he admitted me into his cabinet; and, upon showing him this information, he bad me sit down, and said, ‘Sir Philip, let us talk.’ Saith the Lord Chancellor, ‘Do you know these men?’ ‘No,’ said I. ‘But,’ saith he, ‘I tell you I know them all: as for Griffin, Tull, and ‘many of the rest, they are rich men, and will not be apt to ‘hazard what they have; and as for this Jesse, he is a silly ‘old fellow: if he be any thing, he is a fool; and so that he ‘may please himself with talking a little—that will be all ‘—which being contemned, will soon come to nothing. ‘There is no danger of him, or these men. But, Sir,’ said he, ‘there are a sect of people that are to be feared indeed ‘—the Presbyterians, the Republicans—these men are to ‘be feared indeed.’ I, not knowing any practice of these men against their Prince, said nothing against them, but admired his integrity, of which, in the following story,

¹ 1662.

you will see a strange discovery, by his profession of kindness to men that he condemned to me, and did strangely revile in presence of the King and Councill.

I being very desirous to have that most excellent man, M^r Bowles, the Minister of York, that did his Prince and country such singular service in breaking of Lambert's army, to conform to the discipline of the Church, knowing that his example would contribute more to the tranquillity and amity of it than any one mans in the whole of England — I pressed him very earnestly to conform, at which he smiled, and told me the act would not be put in execution; for, saith he, the Lord Chancellor is our friend, and you will find his power able to overrule it, which he hath promised.

“Come, said I, M^r Bowles, he will deceive you; for upon the information which was against M^r Jesse, Tull, Griffin, and others, which I told M^r Bowles at large, he said the Presbyterians were only to be feared. ‘Come,’ said M^r Bowles, ‘there is cunning in daubing. I will tell you a tale for your tale.’

“M^r Jenkins, an eminent preacher of our perswasion, was commanded to appear at the Councell Board for some sedition that he had preached in a sermon. He was told that the L^d Chancellor would be his friend; but, upon his coming before the Board, the L^d Chancellor fell upon him with the greatest violence imaginable, and did strangely revile him in the presence of the King. But, said M^r Bowles, M^r Jenkins was advised by him that told him he should find the Chancellor his friend, to make him a visit shortly after; which he did. Upon the sending in of his name to the Chancellor, he was immediately called into his cabinet; when the Chancellor, receiving of him into his arms, told him (saying dear Mr. Jenkins), ‘You must not think much at the language you had from me at the Councell Board — those were but words of course. I am your real friend, and a friend to all your friends, as you shall find me.’ I, thinking this story very strange, went imme-

diately with it to my Lord Ashley, who I found at my L^d Treasurers, who, upon the sending in of my name, came presently to me very pleasantly singing, after his way. I asked him if there had been one Mr. Jenkins lately at the Councill Board? Yes, said he. Was the L^d Chancellor angry with him? said I. Yes, said he. Then, said I, if you love the King's safety, look to it, and tell him this story, which I had from M^r Bowles: which as soon as he had heard, he left me without speaking of a word, and went away as mute as he came merrily.

“ You see how he mocks and contemns God, by recommending integrity and reformation of life to the nation, upon such severe penalties as the driving away of Gods name from us; and yet he so little regards that God, that never man dealt so falsely with the safety of his Sovereigne and most indulgent Master's life, by caressing those that he had reviled, in the presence of his Majesty, for seditious discourses, and by excusing others that were disigning his assassination, and giving them that liberty that nothing durst have done, but one that was ready to burst with ambition and impatiency of seeing himself Protector, that he might have equalled his friend and hero, as well in power as in impiety.”

Monkton is also very angry with Lord Clarendon for setting at liberty one Suttcliffe, against whom allegations were made.

He also imputes to Clarendon, that, after the Restoration, one morning S^t John, Thurloe, and Lenthal were seen to come out of his cabinet.

He also considers it a great offence that Clarendon sh^d have promoted Glynn and Maynard — “ guilty,” he says, “ of the blood of Sir H. Slingsby, Hewitt, and Pen-
“ ruddock.”

He says, “ Truly this act was in my judgment so horridly
“ dishonourable to the King, and would be of such per-
“ nicious consequence, that I did presume to admonish

“ him of this by a paper that I gave him. Upon perusal
 “ of my paper, he sent M^r Duke Davy to tell me he would
 “ speak with me : upon which I went to him, and had the
 “ honour to be called into his cabinet, where he pleased
 “ himself in taking half an hour in justifying the fact with
 “ arguments, which I patiently heard, and made no reply to
 “ any, save his last, which I suppose he thought his best.
 “ The argument was this :— Sir, said he, would you not
 “ think it very hard measures, if you had a cause to be heard
 “ in Westminster Hall, and should be debarred the best
 “ Counsell ? and will you not allow the King the same
 “ liberty you would have yourself ? My Lord, said I, your
 “ argument is not equall ; for I might better make use of
 “ them than the King ; for they never murdered any of
 “ my servants for doing that which I requested them in my
 “ greatest need.”

CCLIII.

A SCHEDULE OF LORD CLARENDON'S DEBTS.

[From the Bodleian Library.]

A SCHEDULE of Debts owing by my Lord to these severall
 Persons hereunder named, w^{ch} was sent over to his Lo^p
 in January last, 1667 ; and whereof this is a copy.

	£	s.	d.
To the Ma ^r of the Roabes ¹	10000	00	0
To M ^r Morrier and Clayton	6000	00	0
	<hr/>		
Carry forward	-	16000	00 0

¹ Lawrence Hyde, second son of Lord Clarendon who was appointed Master of the Robes in May, 1662.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward -	16000	00	0
To M ^r Adriaen and Maurvis	1000	00	0
To Major Huntington -	1000	00	0
× To the Lord Baltemore and M ^r Weld -	1400	00	0
To S ^r John Wolstenholme -	2600	00	0
× To Alderman Backwell -	2100	00	0
To S ^r George Carterett -	1400	00	0
To M ^r Charnock, upon M ^r Caryes and my Bond -	300	00	0
To M ^r Curraner -	500	00	0
To my Selfe, upon an Accompt adjusted and given in to his Lo ^{ps} , 14 ^o Maij, 1664 -	447	18	7
	<hr/>		
	26747	18	7

To S^r John Robinson, upon
the Purchase of the Conduit
Field, and behind Clarendon

House, remaines -	400	00	0
To S ^r Robert Vyner -	6600	00	0
More to S ^r John Shawe -	780	00	0

1^o Novemb. 1667.

34527 18 7

× {	More brought in since due		
	To S ^r Charles Cotterell, upon the accompt of Hangings bought for my Lord beyond sea -	50	00 0
	To M ^r Percy Church, dis- bursed by him in France	9	06 7½

A Schedule of Debts owing to Tradesmen by Bills.

		£	s.	d.
p ^d 150 : 00 : 0	To Mr. Smith the Mercer -	363	19	10
	× To Mr. Smith the Linnen Draper × -	45	00	0
M ^d um. These bills were given in to pay Lord himself before his going away.	× To M ^r Francklyn and M ^r Hookes × -	04	00	0
	To M ^r Rainsford the Lace man	13	05	6
	To the Hatter × -	06	14	0
	To the Roabe maker × -	03	03	0
	To the Stocking man × -	05	10	0
	To M ^r Moody the Milliner × -	25	05	0
		466	17	4
p ^d 40 : 00 : 0	More due to the Upholsterer	83	09	2
	To M ^r Allen the Taylor -	233	11	1
p ^d 150 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Pym the Taylor -	361	03	4
	To S ^r Joseph Sheldon the Draper -	815	00	0
	To M ^r Hinton, Apothecary	166	16	1
	× To M ^r Gape, Apothecary -	18	04	0
	× To the Herauld Painters for my Ladies funerall -	64	01	0
	× To the Coach and Harniss Makers for the funerall -	52	15	3
	× To M ^r Hoare for Plate -	27	10	3
	× To M ^r Welch the Goldsmith	16	14	9
		1839	04	11
		466	17	4
		2306	02	3

	£	s.	d.
Due more by Bills, at Twickenham, w ^{ch} were examined and adjusted in September last, 1667 -	84	04	11
× Due to the Servants for their Wages at Mich'as, 1667 -	130	15	0
	<hr/>		
	214	19	11
To M ^{rs} Hill, by her Bill -	3	11	3
To M ^r Russell, fringe maker	30	00	0
To M ^r Roche, Taylor -	17	00	0

A Note of Moneys due to severall Worke Masters, and w^{ch} were adjusted by Mr. Pratt, 2^{do} Jan^{ry}, 1667.

p ^d 150 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Streeter, Painter -	311	10	6
	To M ^r George, Plu ^m er -	200	13	2
p ^d 050 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Partridge, Blacksmith	111	14	9
	× To M ^r Smith, Lock-smith -	35	05	8
p ^d 045 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Brace, Glazier -	93	17	3
p ^d 040 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Cleeve and Pierce, Carvers -	78	07	2
p ^d 060 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Kenward and Alnutt, Joyners -	114	07	9
p ^d 030 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Joyner, the Joyner -	60	05	8
p ^d 100 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Cleeve, the Joyner, for my Lord Cornbury -	191	09	6
p ^d 030 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Story and Flory, Masons -	62	00	6
p ^d 060 : 00 : 0	To M ^r Hony, Pavier, for the High Wayes -	125	16	0
	To M ^r Jones, Brickelayer -	35	11	6
	× To M ^r Grene, Plaisterer -	31	11	0
	× To M ^r Hubbert, for Plaister Heads -	03	10	0
		<hr/>		
		1455	14	5

LETTERS AND PAPERS.

539

	£	s.	d.
Bricks delivered by M ^r Crispe upon an old Accompte -	287	12	6
x Bricks delivered by the Widow Wells, but demanded by S ^r William Poulteney -	83	00	0
	<u>370</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>

Allowance for the Dearnesse of Lime demanded by the Bricklayers, £300, but left to the Commission ⁿ	400	00	0
Allowance for the Dearnesse of Lime demanded by the Plaisterer, £100, but left likewise to the Comm ⁿ			
To M ^r Marston's Accompt, not adjusted - -	200	00	0
To M ^r Switzer and Flory, their worke not measured -	100	00	0
x To Mr. Culliford, for Purbeck stone - - -	35	00	0
	<u>735</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>0</u>

Ducketts Journey to Mr. Pratts, to adjust these Accompts, in w ^{ch} he was absent 3 weekes; together w th incident charges for the Carriage of Stone, not reckoned for herein - -	370	12	6
	<u>1455</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>
	<u>2561</u>	<u>06</u>	<u>11</u>

April y^e 15th, 1669.

M^r CLUTTERBOOKE, We doe hereby appoint you to pay to the severall Tradesmen and others within this Paper, the severall summes of money marked in the margin, and to take their severall acquittances for the same; and the rest of the money that shall remaine in Alderman Backwells hands, to remaine untouched till further order. Wittnesse our hands.

L. HYDE.

25^o Januarij, 1667.

The Coppy of the Schedule of
my Lords Debts then sente
over to his Lo^{ty}.

INDEX.

A.

- Adventurers*, ii. 95.
Albans, St., Earl of (see *Jermyn*).
Albemarle, Duke of (see *Monk, George*).
----- (second), pardoned by the King for the murder
of a watchman, ii. 492.
Annesley, Arthur (Earl of Anglesea), sent by Ormond to oppose the
bill prohibiting the importation of cattle from Ireland, ii. 323.
Character of, iii. 111. *note*.
Antrim, Randal Macdonnel, Marquis of, notice of, iii. 40. *note*.
Apsley, Sir Allen, notice of, iii. 97. *note*.
Argyle, Marquis of, committed to the Tower, ii. 92. Trial and
execution of, 93. Monk's infamous conduct with regard to,
93.
Arlington, Earl of (see *Bennet, Sir Henry*).
Army of the Commonwealth, disbanding of, ii. 29. Eulogium on, 32.
Arran, Lord, profligate conduct of, with regard to Anne Hyde, ii. 74.
Ascham, murder of, i. 351.
Ashburnham, John, charge against Clarendon of ingratitude towards,
examined, ii. 417. *note*.
Notice of, iii. 38. *note*.
Ashley, Lord, supports the declaration of indulgence, ii. 210. Opposes
Downing's proviso for the appropriation of the supplies,
313. Proviso for auditing public accounts aimed at, 317.
Appointed treasurer of prize-money, 331. Corrupt motives
for the appointment, 331.
Atonement, denial of the doctrine of, made capital, ii. 297.
Atterbury advocates the pretensions of the convocation to be con-
sulted in ecclesiastical affairs, ii. 309.
Aylesbury, Sir Thomas, notice of, i. 11.; and iii. 3. *note*.

B.

- Backwell, Edward* (Alderman), sent to Paris to receive the money for Dunkirk, ii. 173.
 Notice of, iii. 229. *note*.
- Banishment*, bill of, against Clarendon, passed, ii. 443. Harsh and unjust, 444.
- Banks, Sir John*, character of, i. 217.
- Barebones' Parliament*, i. 399.
- Base Coin*, proposal to raise money by issue of, i. 66.
- Bastide* sent on a secret mission from Louis, ii. 129. Attempts to bribe Hyde, 130.
- Bastwick*, cruelties inflicted on, i. 43. *note*.
- Baxter*, reply of, with reference to the declaration, ii. 53. Principal disputant at the Savoy Conference, 181. Complains of unfairness, 183. *note*. Intolerance of, 303.
- Beale* examined before the Lords, i. 131.
- Bedford, Earl of*, solicits Hyde's services, with Essex, on behalf of Strafford, i. 92. His death injurious to Strafford, 103.
- Bellasis, Mr.*, committed to the Fleet, for refusing to disclose what passed in the House of Commons, i. 65.
- Bellings, Sir Richard*, notice of, iii. 209. *note*.
- Bennet, Sir Henry* (Earl of Arlington), a favourer of the Roman Catholics, ii. 201. Appointed Secretary of State, 203. Promotes the Declaration of Indulgence, 204. Endeavours to injure Clarendon in the King's favour, 213.
 Notice of, iii. 65. *note*.
- Benyon* fined and imprisoned by the Long Parliament, in violation of the right of petition, i. 121.
- Bergen*, unsuccessful attempt to capture the Dutch East India and Smyrna fleets at, ii. 350.
- Berkeley, Sir Charles*, profligate conduct of, with regard to Anne Hyde, ii. 74.
- Berkeley, Sir John* (Lord Berkeley), appointed Colonel-General of Devon and Cornwall, i. 258. Cause of his enmity to Hyde, 366.
 Protests against the bill for banishing Clarendon, ii. 444.
 Notice of, iii. 7. *note*.
- Berkeley, Judge*, arrested on the bench, i. 80.
- Berkshire, Lord*, character of, i. 217. Governor to the Prince, 253.
- Best* tried for heresy, ii. 297.
- Billeting of soldiers*, its oppressive severity, i. 37. *note*.
- Bishops*, bill for their expulsion from the House of Lords brought forward in the Commons, i. 109. Twelve committed to prison for protesting against laws made in their absence from the

- House, 160. Bill for their exclusion assented to by the King, 161.
- Bishops* restored to the House of Lords, ii. 108. Policy of the measure considered, 108.
- Blake*, expedition of, against the Spaniards, i. 410.
- Blood* pardoned and rewarded by Charles, ii. 493.
- Bona Esperanza*, and *Bona Adventura*, dispute with the Dutch concerning, ii. 247. History of the case, 247. One of the chief causes of the war, 251.
- Booth, Sir George*, enterprise of, i. 462. Defeat and capture of, 463. Discharged from prison, 492.
- Breda*, Declaration from, i. 501.
- Negotiations for peace at, ii. 376. Terms of the treaties concluded at, 381.
- Brentford*, parliamentary forces surprised at, i. 210.
- Brewster*, punishment of, for printing a seditious book, ii. 511.
- Bridgman, Sir Orlando*, Speaker of the Lords in the Lord Chancellor's absence, ii. 2. *note*. Receives the great seal, 415.
- Notice of, iii. 116. *note*.
- Bristol* taken by Prince Rupert, i. 219. Head quarters of the Prince of Wales, 255. Shamefully lost by Rupert, 267.
- Bristol, Earl of*, character of, i. 217.
-
- , son of the preceding (*see Lord Digby*), sent to Parma, by the King, to see the Italian princesses; brings back an unfavourable report, ii. 128. A convert to popery, 200. Intrigues against Clarendon, 217. Imprudent interference with the Commons, 217. And weak defence, 220. Interview with the King preparatory to his charge against Clarendon, 221. Probable cause of his bold language to him, 222. Fails in the accusation, and absconds, 225. A proclamation issued for the apprehension of, 225.
- Broderick, Sir Alan*, notice of, iii. 209. *note*.
- Broghill, Lord*, notice of, iii. 91. *note*.
- Brooke, Lord*, his cabinet, study, and pockets, searched for papers, i. 65.
- Brooks*, punishment of, for printing a seditious book, ii. 511.
- Brouncker*, conduct of, after the fight off Southwold Bay, ii. 335. Expelled the House of Commons, 335. *note*. Labours for the dismissal of Clarendon, 413.
- Browne, Sir Richard*, lends money to Hyde, i. 376.
- Notice of, iii. 65. *note*.
- Buat*, treachery and execution of, ii. 366.
- Buckingham, Duke of*, an advocate of the bill for prohibiting the importation of cattle from Ireland; cowardice of, ii. 328. *note*. Reinstated at court, 396. Encourages Charles in his contempt of decency, 491.

- Burnet's* assertion of Charles's conversion to popery before he left Paris improbable, i. 396. Ascription of the errors of the reign of Charles II. to his coming in without conditions considered, 510.
- Burton*, cruelty inflicted on, i. 43.

C.

- Cabal*, pernicious counsels of, ii. 493. Wish to govern without parliament, 496.
- Cabo Corço* and *Commenda*, siege of, made a pretext by the Dutch for interdicting English trade with, ii. 251.
- Cabo Corço* taken from the Dutch for the Royal African Company, ii. 261.
- Cambridge University* contributes plate to the King, i. 204.
- Capel, Arthur, Lord*, accompanies the Prince of Wales to Scilly and Jersey, i. 279. Writes to Charles conjointly with Hyde and Hopton, 289.
- Notice of, iii. 36. *note*.
- Carew, Thomas*, notice of, i. 15.
- Carisbrooke Castle*, negotiations at, i. 314.
- Carteret, Sir George*, falls off from Clarendon, ii. 215. Proviso for auditing public accounts aimed at, 317. Expelled the House for having issued money without legal warrant, 322.
- Notice of, iii. 229. *note*.
- Castlemaine, Lady*, mistress to Charles II., ii. 145. Cause of quarrel between the King and Queen, 146. Clarendon would not let any grant pass the Great Seal in which she was named, 150. *note*. A convert to popery, 200. Profligate attentions of Charles to, 216. Causes of the enmity of, to Clarendon, 394. Procures the reinstatement of Buckingham, 396. Runs from her bed to observe Clarendon's countenance on returning from the King, 412. Procures the dismissal of Clarendon, 413. Grant of plate to, 491.
- Catherine of Braganza*, negotiations for the King's marriage with, ii. 125. Education and personal appearance of, 143. Makes a favourable impression on the King, 144. Insulted by his introduction of his mistress to her, 146. Refuses to accept her as a lady of the bedchamber, 146. ; which causes a breach between her and Charles, 146. Cruelly treated by Charles, 150. Falls dangerously ill, 154. ; but recovers, 155.
- Chambers* fined by the Star Chamber, i. 42.
- Charles I.*, power of dissolution rashly employed by, i. 35.
- Dismisses his second parliament with indignity, 35.
- Demands a general loan, 35.
- His threats on opening his third parliament, 36.

Charles I.

- Consents to the prayer of the Petition of Right, 37. ; his insincerity regarding, 38.
- Dissolves his third parliament hastily, for refusing to vote tonnage and poundage for more than one year, 38.
- Causes of disaffection towards, 39.
- Attempts to govern by proclamations, 41.
- His manners repulsive, 45.
- Commands the Liturgy to be read in all Churches in Scotland, 49. ; which is resisted by the people, 50. ; and finally recalled, 51.
- His duplicity, 52.
- Marches against the Covenanters, 52. ; and accedes to the pacification at Berwick, 52.
- Breaks with the Covenanters, 53. ; and failing to raise money by arbitrary means, resolves on summoning parliament, 54.
- Speech on opening parliament, 54.
- Speech to the lords desiring them to advise the Commons to proceed with the supplies before the grievances, 56.
- Message to the Commons to hasten the supplies, 56. Dissolves parliament in person, 59. Marches against the Scots, 66.
- Concludes the treaty of Ripon, 67. Summons the Long Parliament, 68. His opening speech, 69.
- Not so solicitous for Strafford's life, as that he himself should be exempted from sanctioning his death, 99.
- Reflections on his conduct towards Strafford, 104.
- First interview with Hyde, 114.
- Departs for Scotland, 129. Re-enters London, 135.
- Interview at Hampton Court with the deputation from the Commons, 135. *note.* Answer to the Remonstrance, 136.
- Offers Hyde the place of Solicitor-General, 141.
- Intrusts his interests in Parliament to Hyde, Falkland, and Colepepper, 142.
- Attempts to seize the five members, 145. Quits London, 147.
- Message to Parliament, 154.
- Assents to the bill for the exclusion of the bishops, 161.
- Accompanies the Queen to Dover, 161.
- Interview with Hyde at Canterbury, 162. ; and at Greenwich, 163.
- Travels northward, 167.
- Answer respecting the militia, 169.
- Reply to the petition from the Commons, 172.
- Message to both Houses from Huntingdon, 175.
- Summons Hyde to York, 186. Issues his declaration, 196. ,
- Raises the royal standard at Nottingham, 197.
- Sends a message to Parliament, 200. Further negotiations, 202.
- Arrives at Shrewsbury, 204.
- Battle of Edgehill, 206.
- Advances toward London, 209. Accepts overtures of peace, 209.

Charles I.

- Surprises some Parliamentary forces at Reading, 210.
- Retreats to Oxford, 211. Negotiates for peace, 213.
- Appoints Hyde Chancellor of the Exchequer, 218.
- Publishes a declaration, denying the Houses of Lords and Commons then assembled to be a true parliament, 221.
- Raises the siege of Gloucester, 224.
- Fights the battle of Newbury, 224.
- Summons a parliament at Oxford, 233.
- Addresses a letter to the Parliament at Westminster to treat for peace, 235.
- Obtains succours from Ireland, 238.
- Gains a victory at Cropredy Bridge, 239.
- Winters at Oxford, 240. Makes overtures of peace, 240.
- Sends the Prince of Wales into the West, 252.
- Last interview with Hyde, 253.
- Offers propositions for peace, 272.
- Proofs of his faithlessness discovered, 290.
- Goes to the Scotch camp, 293.
- Delivered into the hands of the English Parliament, 308.
- Carried off by Cornet Joyce to head-quarters at Triplow Heath, 310.
- Allowed to reside at Hampton Court, 312.
- Escapes to the Isle of Wight, when he is taken and imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle, 314.
- Negotiates with the Parliament, 322.
- Trial and execution, 325.

Charles II.

- (Prince of Wales.) Sent into the West by his father, i. 252.
- Arrives at Bristol; operations there, 255. Sails for Scilly, 277.
- Arrives in Jersey, 279. Goes to France, 288. Naval expedition, 316.; its failure, 319.
- Dissensions in his court at the Hague, 326.
- Invited to Scotland, 333. Leaves the Hague, 338.
- Visits his mother at St. Germain, 339.
- Sails for Scotland, and signs the Covenant, 358.
- Returns to Paris, 365.
- His poverty, 367.
- Projects of marriage, 370.
- Proposes to go on board the Dutch fleet, on the breaking out of the war, 371.
- Pecuniary resources, 373.
- Hears the accusations of the courtiers against Hyde, and declares himself satisfied of his integrity, 384.
- His indolence and devotion to pleasure, 388.
- Reprobates his mother's attempt to convert the Duke of Gloucester to popery, 394.; proof of the improbability of his own apostasy at this time, 396.

Charles II.

- Resides at Cologne, 404.
- Negotiates with the court of Spain, 411.
- Attempt to convert him to the Romish faith, 415.
- Repairs to Bruges, where he fixes his residence, 417.
- Concludes a treaty with the king of Spain, 417.
- Confers with Sexby, 420.
- Projects a visit to Madrid, 439. ; which intention he ultimately abandons, 440.
- Makes Hyde Lord Chancellor, 440.
- Leaves Cologne in debt, 442.
- Becomes dependent on Spain, 445.
- Necessitous condition at Bruges, 445.
- Quits the Spanish territory in compliance with Monk's advice, 498.
- Writes to the Speaker of the House of Commons, 500.
- Declaration from Breda, 501.
- Proclaimed at Temple Bar, 508.
- Lands at Dover, 515.
- Public entry into London, 515.
- appoints a ministry ; its composition, ii. 5.
- Recommends lenity and despatch in passing Bill of Indemnity, 19.
- His speeches and messages composed by Hyde, 19. *note*.
- Complains to Parliament of his pecuniary embarrassments, 28.
- Interview with the Presbyterian clergy, 44.
- Issues a declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, 48.
- Dissolves in person the Convention Parliament, 58.
- Raises Hyde to the Peerage, 79.
- Presents him with 20,000*l.*, 82.
- Publishes a declaration of settlement for Ireland, 98.
- Opens parliament in person, 104.
- Disgraceful letter of, regarding the execution of Vane, 122.
- Resolves on marriage with the Princess Catherine of Braganza, 136. Meets her at Portsmouth, and solemnises the marriage, 144. Insults her by presenting his mistress to her in open court, 145.
- Endeavours to have Lady Castlemaine appointed a lady of the bed-chamber, 146. ; which leads to a quarrel with the queen, 146.
- His infamous conduct in this matter, 148.
- Sells Dunkirk to the King of France, 173.
- Promises a conditional suspension of the execution of the Act of Uniformity, 188.
- Extent of his endeavours to fulfil the Declaration from Breda, 194.
- Suspected of inclining to Catholicism, 198. Conduct for its furtherance, 201.
- Publishes a Declaration of Indulgence, 206. Is displeased with Clarendon for opposing it, 212.

Charles II.

- Increased profligacy of, 216.
- Obtains a vote of four subsidies, 217.
- Interview with Bristol regarding the impeachment of Clarendon, 221.
- Interests himself for the young Prince of Orange, 241.
- Appeals to Parliament for supplies to prosecute the Dutch war, 271. Declares war against the Dutch, 276.
- Speech of, at the opening of the session on March 21. 1664, 286.
- Attends a meeting of ministers in Clarendon's chamber to discuss Downing's proviso, 313.
- Appoints a commission to audit the public accounts, 321.; which is meant to be illusory, 321.
- Adverse to the bill for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, 323.; but is constrained to assent to it, 327.
- Wishes to appropriate the prize money to his own use, 331.; for which purpose he appoints Lord Ashley treasurer, 331.
- Negotiates with the Dutch for peace, 368.
- Negotiates with Louis for peace, 369.
- Concludes at Breda treaties with France, Holland, and Denmark, 381.; their terms, 381.
- Unpopularity of, 384.
- Profligacy, and frivolity of, 389.
- Causes of his dislike of Clarendon, 390.
- Ascendency of Lady Castlemaine over, 396.
- Summons Parliament, and abruptly prorogues it, 404.
- Sends the Duke of York to advise Clarendon to give up the Great Seal, 408. Interview with Clarendon, 408.
- Deprives Clarendon of the Great Seal, 414. Motive assigned by him for this proceeding, 415.
- Silly conduct of, at the council board, after he had lost Clarendon's guidance, 416. *note.*
- Speech of, to Parliament, in which he alludes to the dismissal of Clarendon, 418. Effect on the Commons of this allusion, 419.
- Unconstitutional conduct of, 419.
- Denounces Clarendon, in answer to an address from both Houses, 420.
- Insulting behaviour on receipt of Clarendon's letter, requesting him to sanction his departure, 436.
- Commands the Duke of York to advise Clarendon to leave the kingdom, 438.
- Cruel and ungrateful to Clarendon, 485. 488.
- Profligacy of, after Clarendon's removal from office, 491.
- To govern without Parliament, a cherished object of, 496.
- Chillingworth, William*, notice of, i. 15. Tyrannically committed to the Tower by the Long Parliament, 124.

- Church*, injurious effect of its interference in the civil contest, i. 46.
 Questions concerning, debated in the Commons, 109.
- Church Government*, settlement of, ii. 42.
- Church Property*, settlement of, ii. 37.
- Civil War*, commencement of, i. 185.
- Clarendon, Earl of*, See *Hyde, Edward*.
- Clarendon, Countess of*, marriage of, i. 11. Her domestic virtues alluded to, 30. Accepts for her daughter a place in the household of the Princess of Orange, 393.
 Death of, ii. 406. Specimen of her epistolary style, 407. *note*.
- Clarendon House*, magnificence and cost of, ii. 387. A cause of Clarendon's unpopularity, 388.
- Clarendon Park*, charge against Lord Clarendon regarding the timber on, examined, iii. 340. *note*.
- Charges, Sir Thomas*, notice of, iii. 103. *note*.
- Clergy* wave their right to tax themselves, ii. 308. ; allowed to vote for members of parliament, 311.
- Clifford, Thomas (Baron Clifford)*, notice of, iii. 417. *note*.
- Clubmen* petition the Prince of Wales, i. 264.
- Canary Company*, ignorance of political economy exhibited in preamble of charter of, ii. 448. Defence of the charter, 449. ; examined, 452.
- Coat and Conduct Money*, levied on the counties, i. 65.
- Colbert, Jean Baptiste*, notice of, iii. 245. *note*.
- Colepepper, Sir John*, his attack on monopolies, i. 40. *note*. Ordered to impeach Judge Berkeley, 80. Intrusted with the conduct of the King's affairs, 140. Advises the King's assent to the exclusion of the bishops, 161. Discovers that it had been resolved to send Falkland, Hyde, and himself to the Tower, 176. Cautious proceedings thereon, 176. Draws up, in conjunction with Falkland, the answer to the nineteen propositions, 190. Advises the King to treat for peace, 199. Attends the Prince to Treves, 276. ; and to Scilly, 277. Quarrels with Prince Rupert at the Hague, 327. ; and with Walsh, 328.
- Colepepper, Lord*, protests against the Bill for banishing Clarendon, ii. 444.
- Cologne*, poverty of Charles, while resident at, i. 442.
- Colonies*, Clarendon charged with introducing arbitrary government into, ii. 460. Grounds of the charge, 460.
- Common Council*, meeting of, with Monk in Finsbury Fields, i. 493.
- Commonwealth, English*, not alarming to the continental powers, i. 350.
- Conventicle Act*, passed. Outline of, ii. 291.
- Convocation*, acts of the clergy in, declared not binding without consent of Parliament, i. 70.
- Clergy wave their right of self-taxation in, ii. 308. ; but with

- a proviso of reservation, 309. Faction violence, and ultimate suppression of, 309.
- Conway, Lord*, defeated at Newburn, i. 66.
- Cooté, Sir Charles*, notice of, iii. 91. *note*.
- Cornbury, Lord*, his speech in the House of Commons, ii. 426. Present at his father's death, 488.
- Corporation Act* passed, outline of, ii. 107.
- Cottingham, Francis (Lord)*, appointed ambassador to Spain, i. 335. His instructions, 337. Repairs to St. Germain, 339. Reconciled to the Roman Catholic church, and dies at Valladolid, 364. Character of, by Clarendon, 364. Notice of, iii. 56. *note*.
- Council of the North*, its jurisdiction, i. 87. Proceedings against, 88.
- Council, Prince of Wales's*, its composition, i. 253.
- Court of the Council of Wales, and the Welsh Marches*, its jurisdiction, and proceedings against, i. 88.
- Court of Honour*, oppressions under, i. 63. Case of, brought before Parliament, 63. Proceedings against, 73.
- Court of York*, See *Council of the North*.
- Covenant, Solemn League and*, i. 230. *note*. Subscribed by Parliament, 231. Persecution under, 231.
- Covenanters* negotiate with Charles I. regarding the Liturgy, i. 50. Declared rebels, 51. Make peace with Charles at Berwick, 52. Renew the war, 53. Enter into a compact with Charles II., 357. Defeated at Dunbar, 359.
- Coventry, Henry*, notice of, iii. 364. *note*.
- Coventry, Sir John*, waylaid and maimed at the instigation of Charles II., ii. 493.
- Coventry, Sir W.*, supports the proviso for the appropriation of the supplies, ii. 312. Advises the reduction of the navy, 378. Labours for the dismissal of Clarendon, 413. Proclamation against coffee-houses opposed by, 507.
- Crew, Mr.*, sent to the Tower, for refusing to give up petitions referred to the committee on religion, i. 65.
- Cromwell, Oliver*, puts himself at the head of the army, and marches towards London, i. 311. Treats the King with deference, 312. Restores the army to obedience, 314. Defeats and takes Hamilton, 320. Atrocities of, at Drogheda, 340. Defeats Lealey at Dunbar, 359. Forcibly dissolves the Long Parliament, 398. Convenes Barebones' Parliament, which he shortly dissolves, 399.; and assumes the title of Protector, 400. Gerard and Vowell's plot against, 400. Summons a Parliament, 401.; but being unsuccessful in his endeavours to render it subservient, dissolves it in anger, 402. Increases in severity, 407. Protects the Vaudois, 409. Enters into alliance with France, 429.

- Cromwell, Oliver*, body of, exhumed, hanged at Tyburn, and thrown into a pit under the gallows, ii. 57. Argument of, in favour of his assumption of the title of King, 120. *note*. Principle of toleration not recognised by, 301.
- Cromwell, Richard*, hopes of the Royalists depressed by the unassisted accession of, i. 446. Plots of the officers against, 448. Attempts to render the Parliament more manageable, 448. Dissolves it, 453. Wishes to aid the royal cause, 457.
- Cropley Bridge*, battle of, i. 239.
- Crown Lands*, defective titles of possession of, compounded for, i. 40.
- Customs*, arbitrary levy of, suppressed, i. 71.
- Corruption in underletting charged against Clarendon, and denied by him, ii. 455. Foundation of the charge, 456. Examined, 458.

D.

- Danvers, Colonel*, plot of, ii. 292.
- Dartmouth, Lord*, note of, on the behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester to Anne Hyde, ii. 73. *note*. Respecting the pictures at Clarendon House, 535.
- Declaration from Breda*, Clarendon's defence of the king against the complaints of the non-conformists regarding his violation of, ii. 191. How far he endeavoured to fulfil, 194.
- Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs*, drawn up by Hyde, ii. 48. Discussions on, 49. Outline of, 51. Bill embodying, rejected, 54.
- Declaration of Indulgence*, question of the framer of, ii. 204. Outline of, 206. Brought into the House of Lords, 210. Address to the King against, from the Commons, 210. Opposed by Clarendon and Southampton, 211. Fails, 212.
- Declaration for the Settlement of Property in Ireland*, outline of, ii. 98. Proceedings under, 100.
- Denbigh, Lord*, humanity of, ii. 18.
- Denmark, King of*, agrees to betray the Dutch fleet at Bergen into the hands of the English, ii. 351. Failure of the disgraceful attempt, 353. ; represented by him to the Dutch as a proof of friendship, 354. Terms of, conditional with, 355. Perfidiously concludes a secret treaty with the Dutch, 358.
- Denmark*, treaty concluded with, ii. 336.
- De Retz* opposes Charles's journey to Madrid, i. 440.
- Dering, Sir Edward*, impeached by the long Parliament, in violation of the right of petition, i. 121.
- De Ruyter* sent to Guinea to retaliate on the English, ii. 264. ; and

- to the West Indies and America, 270. Engages the English fleet off the North Foreland, 361. Repulsed by Sir Edward Spragge, 380.
- Desbrowe* advises Richard to dissolve the Parliament, i. 453.
- De Silva* sent to prison for delay in paying the queen's dowry, ii. 152.
- Despotism*, attempt of Charles II. to re-establish, resisted by the Commons, ii. 497.
- D'Estrades*, negotiations of, with Clarendon, about lowering the flag, ii. 159. About the sale of Dunkirk, 171.
- Notice of, iii. 173. *note*.
- De Witt* refuses Charles's offer to join the Dutch fleet, i. 372.
- Argument of, in favour of the interdiction of English trade, ii. 262. Endeavours to avert a war with England, 256. Orders *De Ruyter* to the coast of Guinea, to retaliate on the English, 264. Negotiates to gain time, 268. Engages the English fleet off the North Foreland, 361. Discovers the treachery of *Buat*, 360. Refuses to treat at the Hague, 369. Sails for England, 376. Burns the shipping in the Thames, 379.
- Digby, George, Lord (Earl of Bristol)*, his sentiments on *ex-post facto* laws, i. 100. Endeavours to persuade the prince to go to Ireland, 286. Cajoled by *Mazarin*, 287.
- Notice of, iii. 10. *note*. See *Bristol, Earl of*.
- Digby, Sir Kenelm*, notice of, i. 15.
- Disaffection*, causes of, towards Charles I., i. 39.
- Dissolution*, power of, rashly employed by Charles I., i. 35.
- Dorislaus*, murder of, i. 334. Its consequences, 335.
- Dorset, Earl of*, advises the King to treat for peace, i. 199.
- Douglas, Sir John*, arrives at the Hague with an invitation to Charles from the Scottish council, i. 333.
- Dover*, punishment of, for printing a seditious book, ii. 511.
- Downing, Sir George*, envoy at the Hague, character of, ii. 231. Expedients recommended by, for counteracting the commercial superiority of the Dutch, 231. Sent to watch the negotiations between the Portuguese and Dutch, 232. Bold conduct of, regarding, 235. Reprimanded by Clarendon, 240. Instructed to promote the interests of the young Prince of Orange, 241. Proceedings of, with regard to the *Bona Esperanza* and *Bona Adventura*, 248. Accused by Temple of corruption in that affair, 248. Proceedings of, regarding the blockade of *Cabo Corço* and *Commenda*, 251.; and the seizure of the *Hopewell* and *Leopard*, 252. Antipacific proceedings of, 262. Moves a proviso for the appropriation of the supplies, 311. Clarendon's intemperate treatment of, in the conference regarding, 315.
- Notice of, iii. 134. Infamous conduct of, 151. *note*.
- Dragoons*, origin of the name, i. 205. *note*.

Dunbar, Battle of, i. 359.

Dunkirk, French relinquish the attempt on, i. 430. Capitulates, and is delivered over to Cromwell, 439.

A source of expense, ii. 166. Sale of, proposed, 167. Question of the author of the project considered, 167. Negotiations concerning, 171. Sale of, 173. Clarendon's conduct with regard to, considered, 174. Reflections on the transaction, 175.

Dunsmore, Lord, character of, i. 217.

Dutch, war with, conduced to the fall of Clarendon, ii. 228. Sources of enmity between the English and, 228. Negotiations of, with the Portuguese, 232. Clarendon's pacific policy towards, 244. Effects a treaty with, 246. ; its outline, 246. Affair of the Bona Esperanza and Bona Adventura, 247. Colonial aggressions of, 251. English trading companies complain of, to Parliament, 253. War with, promoted by the Duke of York and Sir George Downing, 258. Cabo Corço taken from, at the instigation of the duke, 261. Treachery and aggressions of, 263. Negotiate with the English, 268. War declared against, 276. Defeated in the sea-fight off Southwold Bay, 333. Refuse to listen to concessions on the mediation of Louis, 345. Engage the English fleet off the North Foreland, 361. Send a fleet to the Thames, 380. Conclude peace at Breda, 381.

Dyves, Sir Lewis, his answer to Fairfax's summons to surrender Sherborne, i. 266. *note*.

E.

Earl Marshal's Court, oppressions under, i. 63. Brought before Parliament, 63. Proceedings against, 73.

Earles, John, notice of, i. 16.

Edgehill, battle of, i. 206. Witnessed by Hyde, 207.

Elbauf, Duc d', kindness of, to Clarendon, ii. 471.

Eliot, Sir John, privilege of Parliament violated in the person of, i. 38.

Elliot excites differences between Charles and his mother, i. 338.

Episcopacy, its abolition voted by the Scottish assembly at Glasgow, i. 52. Debate on, in the Commons, 112.

Episcopacy, attempt to re-establish, in Scotland, ii. 87.

Erle, Sir Walter, tyrannical order of the Long Parliament, in consequence of information from, i. 125.

Essex, Earl of, his conversation with Hyde regarding Strafford, i. 92. Command of the Parliamentary army given to, 197. Takes the command, 203. Engages the royal army at Edgehill, 206. Arrives in London, 209. Retreats to Uxbridge, 219. Compels the King to raise the siege of Gloucester, 224.

- Gives battle to the Royalists at Newbury, 224. His reply to the letter from the Oxford Parliament, 235. Compelled to surrender arms and ammunition at Lostwithiel, 239.
Edwyn's description of the King's entry into London, i. 514. Reflections on, 516.
 Last visit of, to Clarendon, ii. 489. *note*.
Evreux, Clarendon attacked by rioters at, ii. 475.
Exactions resorted to by Charles I. to raise money, i. 89.
Excise, origin of, i. 237.
 Rendered permanent, ii. 26.

F.

- Fairfax* sounds Monk in favour of a restoration, i. 479.
Falkland, Lord, receives the thanks of the House, i. 79. Intrusted with the conduct of the King's affairs, 140. Draws up, in conjunction with Colepepper, the answer to the nineteen propositions, 190. Death of, 225. His character by Clarendon, 225. *note*.
Falmouth, Earl of, killed at the fight off Southwold Bay, ii. 333.
Fanshawe, Richard (Sir), recalled from Madrid, ii. 359. Harshly treated, 359. *note*.
 Notice of, iii. 18. *note*.
Farmer's case, ii. 460.
Fauconberg, Lord, communication with, regarding Richard's resignation in favour of Charles, i. 456.
Feudal Tenures, abolition of, ii. 25.
Fiennes, conversations with, impel Hyde to attach himself to Charles, i. 108.
Finance, important changes in the system of, ii. 907.
Finch, Sir Heneage, strenuous opposition of, to the bill prohibiting the importation of cattle from Ireland, ii. 324. Advice of, on the mode of impeaching Clarendon, 423.
Finch, Sir John, notice of, i. 20.
Finsbury Fields, Monk meets the Common Council in, i. 490.
Five-Mile Act passed, and outline of, ii. 293. Persecutions under, 294. Southampton an uncompromising opponent of, 293. 515.
Flag, lowering of, to British ships of war, dispute concerning, ii. 159. Clarendon's conduct in, considered, 164.
Fleet, a portion of, declares for the King, i. 315.
Fleetwood, friendly dispositions of, towards Charles II., i. 467. Irresolution of, 468. Remarkable conversation of, with White-locke, 468. Restored to his command, 475. Resigns, 478.
Foreigners, fostering of industrious immigrant, recommended by Downing, ii. 231.
Forest Laws, oppressive enforcement of, i. 40.

- Forests, Royal*, boundaries of, determined, i. 71.
Foster, Chief Justice, sanguinary cant of, regarding Vane's execution, ii. 123.
Foulis, Sir David, fined by the Star Chamber, i. 42.
Fox, Sir Stephen, notice of, iii. 491. *note*.
Fuensaldagna, Count, character of, i. 414. *note*.

G.

- Gerard, Lord* (Earl of Macclesfield), enmity of, to Hyde, i. 386.
 Notice of, iii. 63. *note*.
Gerard and Vowell, failure of their plot, i. 400. Condemned and executed, 401.
Glamorgan, Earl of, his treaty, i. 290.
Glanville, Sir John, notice of, iii. 495. *note*.
Gloucester, Duke of, attempt of his mother to convert to popery, i. 394. Her cruelty to, 395. Death of, ii. 73. *note*.
Godolphin, Sidney, notice of, i. 17.
Goring surrenders Portsmouth to the Parliament, i. 199. His soldiers disorderly, 255. His misconduct, 257. Appointed commander-in-chief, 260. His vices, 262. Routed at Langport, 263. Dissensions with Grenville, 269. Withdraws to France, 270.
Goring's Plot, discovery of, injurious to the Earl of Strafford, i. 103.
Govan, execution of, ii. 94.
Gravelines, French baffled before, i. 430. Taken, 439.
Great Seal, new, made by the Parliament, i. 230.
Grenville, Bernard, despatched by Monk to the King, with intelligence of the invitation, i. 514.
Grenville, Sir Richard, resigns his commission, i. 259. Dissensions with Goring, 269. Committed to custody, 274. Proposed to negotiate between the Parliament and the Prince, 274. Cause of his hatred to Hyde, 379. Plots against Hyde, 380.; in which he is foiled, 384. Further machinations, for which he is forbidden the court, 384.
 Notice of, iii. 7. *note*.
Grenville, Sir John, employs Monk's brother to negotiate with the General, on the King's behalf, i. 472. Delivers the King's letter to Monk, in a private interview, and returns with a favourable answer, 497. Returns to England with the King's declaration and letters, 502. Presents the King's letter to Monk, 507. Proceedings consequent, 508.
Grey Friar's Church, liturgy first used at, in Edinburgh, i. 49.
Grimstone, Sir Harbottle, elected Speaker of the Convention Parliament, i. 506.

- Grimstone, Sir Harbottle*, specimens of his oratory, ii. 21. *note*. 58.
 Frames orders for Court of Chancery in conjunction with Clarendon, 528.
Grove, active in the Wiltshire rising, i. 405. Executed, 406.
Guineas, origin of the name, ii. 260.
Guthrie, execution of, ii. 94.

H.

- Habeas Corpus Act*, difficulties experienced in the passing of, from the resistance of the House of Lords, ii. 501.
Hale, Sir Matthew, appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer; motive for this step, assigned by Dr. Lingard, controverted, ii. 54. *note*. Statement of, respecting coercion of jurors, 512.
Hales, John, notice of, i. 15.
Hamilton, Marquess of (afterwards Duke of), first acquaintance of, with Hyde, i. 9. Sent down a commissioner to Scotland, 50. Result of his mission, 51. Invades England, 319. Defeated, and taken by Cromwell, 320. Arrives at the Hague with an invitation to Charles from the Scottish council, 333. Confers with Hyde, 333.
Hampden opposed to Hyde in the debate on the supplies, i. 57.
Haro, Don Louis de, character of, i. 342.
Harrison, Major-General, trial and execution of, ii. 56.
Hazlerig and Morley take possession of Portsmouth for the Parliament, i. 477.
 Excepted from the Bill of Indemnity, ii. 21.
Hayward, Sir William, notice of, iii. 103. *note*.
Heath, Attorney-General, his opinion on the Petition of Right, i. 38.
Henshaw, treachery of, i. 400.
Herbert, Henry, Lord, notice of, iii. 245. *note*.
Hereford, Bishop of, advises Clarendon to quit the kingdom, ii. 436.
Heresy, attempt to revive punishment of death for, ii. 296.
Hertford, William Seymour, Marquess of (Duke of Somerset), notice of, i. 17. Appointed governor to the Prince of Wales, 161. Character of, 216.
 Notice of, iii. 102. *note*.
Hewet, Dr., tried and executed, i. 438.
Hillyard fined for offence against proclamation, i. 42.
Histriomastix, severe and unjust punishment of the author of, i. 19.
Hoadley, Bishop, denunciation of by convocation, a cause of its suppression, ii. 309.
Hobbes, his opinion of Hyde's State Papers, i. 181. His "Leviathan" examined by Clarendon, 570.
Holland, profligate compact between Charles and Louis for the dismemberment of, ii. 494. Grounds of the war against, frivolous and unjust, 494.

- Hollis, Baron*, privilege of Parliament violated in the person of, i. 38.
 His interview with the King at Oxford, 241. *note*.
 Ambassador at Paris, arrogant conduct of Louis to, ii. 341.
 Protests against the bill for banishing Clarendon, 444.
 Notice of, iii. 111. *note*.
- Holmes, Sir Robert*, captures Cabo Corço for the Royal African Company, ii. 261. Burns the town of Schelling, 364.
- Hopewell*, seizure of, by the Dutch, ii. 252.
- Hopton, Sir Ralph* (afterwards Lord), committed to the Tower, by the Long Parliament, in violation of the right of freedom of debate, i. 123. Appointed Commander-in-chief of the Prince's army, i. 274. His operations, 275. Capitulates at Truro, 278. Joins the Prince at Scilly, 279. Proceeds to Rouen, 303.
- Hotham, Sir John*, committed to the Fleet, for refusing to disclose what passed in the Commons, i. 65. Refuses to admit Charles into Hull, 186. Cause of his refusal, 185. *note*.
- Howard, Sir Robert*, pretends to dread Clarendon's influence with the King, ii. 427.
- Hyde, Anne*, appointed maid of honour to the Princess of Orange, i. 392. Attractions of, 393.
 Marriage of, with the Duke of York, ii. 72. Profligate plot against, 74. Conduct of, with regard to the conspirators, 77. Conduct of the Queen-mother towards, 78. See *York, Duchess of*.
- Hyde, Edward* (Earl of Clarendon).
 Birth and parentage, i. 1.
 Early education, 4.
 Admitted at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 4.
 Enters at the Middle Temple, 6.
 Illness, 7.
 First marriage, 9.
 Second marriage, 11.
 Habits and pursuits, 13.
 His associates, 14.
 One of the managers of a mask presented by the Inns of Court, 18.
 Becomes known to Laud, 24.
 Rises in his profession, 29.
 Distribution of his time, 29.
 Period of his greatest happiness, 30.
 Elected a member of Parliament for Shaftesbury and for Wootton Bassett, for the latter of which he serves, 34.
 Opposed in debate to Hampden, 57.
 Interview with Laud to avert the dissolution of the Short Parliament, 61.
 Inaccurate frequently in details, 61. *note*.
 His proceedings in Parliament, 62.

Hyde, Edward (Earl of Clarendon).

- Motion respecting the Earl Marshal's Court, 68.
- His independent spirit, 54.
- Returned for Saltaah, 68.
- His parliamentary conduct, 73.
- Renews his motion against the Earl Marshal's court, 73.
- Takes an active part in raising money for the grant to the Scottish army, 77.
- Receives the thanks of the House, 79.
- Speech on bringing forward the charges against the Barons of the Exchequer, 80.
- Conducts the proceedings against the Council of the North, 87.
- His speech, 88. Incorrectness in his report of their proceedings, 91. *note*.
- Conference with the Earls of Bedford and Essex, and the Marquess of Hertford, regarding the proceedings against Strafford, 92.
- His participation in the proceedings against Strafford, 95.
- Resists the encroachments of the Parliament, 107.
- Conversations with Martin and Fieneses, 108.
- Conduct on the Church question, 109.
- Chairman of the Committee on Episcopacy, 112.
- First interview with Charles, 114.
- Opposes the publication of the Remonstrance, 133.
- Draws up the answer to the Remonstrance, 136.
- Refuses office, 141.
- Intrusted with the King's interests in parliament, 142.
- Disapproves of the King's attempt to seize the five members, 146.
- Assists in framing the King's message to Parliament, 154.
- Opposes the King's assent to the exclusion of the bishops, 161.
- Interview with the King at Canterbury, 162.; and at Greenwich, 163.
- Forewarns the King of the message from the Commons, 171.
- Suspected of framing the King's messages and answers, 175.
- State papers drawn up for the King by him, 177.
- Summoned by the King to York, 186.
- Intercedes for Lord-Keeper Littleton, 187.
- Escapes from the Parliament, and repairs to York, 188.
- Differs from Falkland and Colepepper respecting the "three estates," 190.
- Prepares a message to parliament, 200.
- Obtains supplies of money, 204.
- Witnesses the battle of Edgehill, 207.
- Becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer, 216.
- Advises the summoning of a parliament at Oxford, 232.
- Appointed a commissioner to negotiate peace, 244.

Hyde, Edward (Earl of Clarendon).

- His laborious exertions, 249.
- Appointed a member of the Prince of Wales's council, 252.
- Last interview with Charles I., 253.
- Departs with the prince toward the West, 254.
- Writes a letter of reproof to Goring, 257.
- Arrives in Scilly, 277.
- Reaches Jersey, 279.
- Endeavours to counteract the machinations of the queen, 280.
- His letter to Jermyn, 282.
- Declines accompanying the prince to France, 288.
- Condemns the King's instructions to Glamorgan, 292.
- His mode of life during his retirement in Jersey, 295.
- Applies himself to the composition of his history, 296.
- Takes measures to prevent the occupation of Jersey and Guernsey by the French, 304.
- His will and letters under expectation of seizure and death, 305.
- Quits Jersey, 316.
- Plundered by privateers, and carried prisoner to Ostend, 317. Released, 318.
- Repairs to the Hague, where he endeavours to allay the dissensions of Charles's court, 326.
- Interviews with Montrose and Hamilton relative to Charles's invitation to Scotland, 333.
- Appointed ambassador to Spain, 335. His instructions, 337.
- Establishes his family at Antwerp, and proceeds to St. Germain, where he mediates between Charles and his mother, 338.
- Arrives in Spain, 342.
- Discouragements at St. Sebastian, 343. ; Alcavendas, 344. ; and Madrid, 345.
- First audience from the King of Spain, 346.
- Applies to literary studies, 348.
- Takes leave of the Spanish court, 360. ; and quits Madrid, 361.
- His poverty while in Spain, 361.
- Meets the King at Paris, 365.
- Commencement of his friendship with Ormond, 365.
- Opposes the Queen's request of the place of Master of the Wards for Sir John Berkeley, 366.
- Advocates the Duke of York's entrance into the French service, 368.
- Opposes the Queen in her endeavours to engage the King to frequent the Presbyterian congregation at Charenton, 368.
- Coldness of the Queen towards him, and its causes, 368.
- Charged with the conduct of the secret negotiations with the Scottish royalists, 369.
- Difficulties in raising funds for the King's subsistence, 373.

Hyde, Edward (Earl of Clarendon).

- His severe privations, 375.
- Intrigues of the court against him, 378.
- Hostility of the Queen, 378.
- Accused of treason by Long and Grenville, 379. 384. ; and acquitted, 384.
- Farewell interview with the Queen, 390.
- Visits his family at Breda, 392.
- Attends the King at Cologne, 394.
- His view of affairs in England, 397.
- Policy recommended by him in treating with the Pope, 416.
- Instructions drawn up by him with reference to Sexby, 420.
- His connection with Sexby's plot, reflections on, 425.
- Created Lord Chancellor, 441.
- His management of the King's finances, 442.
- Suggests the parliamentary tactics of the English Royalists, 450.
- His services eminent, but not conspicuous, 482.
- His great exertions, 484.
- Distrusts Monk, 488.
- His advice regarding Monk's overtures, 498.
- Conciliatory measures of, 505.
- takes his seat in the House of Lords, and in the Court of Chancery, ii. 1.
- Unsuccessful attempts to exclude him from office, 2.
- Virtually Prime Minister, 5.
- Considerations to be borne in mind in estimating his conduct as Prime Minister, 8.
- His first official speech, 11.
- Advises lenity, 18.
- Discountenances the grant of an exorbitant income to the King, 23.
- Speech on disbanding the army, 31.
- Incurs the enmity of many Royalists on the question of the settlement of property, 36.
- Speech on the confirmation of sales, 38.
- Charges against, for not attempting a redistribution of Church revenues, considered, 41.
- Draws up the declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, 48.
- His account of Parliamentary proceedings relative to the Church meagre and inaccurate, 48. *note.*
- Speeches delivered by, in the Convention Parliament, 59.
- His conduct on the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of York, 69.
- Created Baron Hyde of Hindon, 80.
- Created Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon, 81.
- Receives a gift of 20,000*l.* from the King, and declines an offer of 10,000 acres of crown lands, 82.

Hyde, Edward (Earl of Clarendon).

- Rejects the proposal to resign the Chancellorship and assume ostensibly the office of Prime Minister, 83.
- Measures of, for the government of Scotland, 85. ; opposed by Lord Lauderdale, 87.
- Opposes the withdrawal of the garrisons from the Scottish citadels, 87.
- Endeavours to introduce episcopacy, 88.
- Measures for the government of Ireland, 102.
- Speech on the opening of parliament in May, 1661, 104.
- Instrumental in suppressing a bill for the execution of thirteen persons, 116.
- Communication with the King regarding the trials of Vane and Lambert, 118.
- Instrumentality of, in promoting the King's marriage with Catherine of Portugal, 125.
- Attempt of Bastide to bribe, 131.
- Accepts a public gift of books from Louis, 134.
- Negotiates for secret aid from France, 135. 138.
- Remonstrates with the King on his placing his mistress in his wife's household, 147. ; but finding him determined, endeavours to reconcile the Queen to it, 149. ; but without success, 150.
- Pacific policy of, 156.
- Negotiates with D'Estrades regarding the lowering of the flag, 157.
- Reflections on his conduct therein, 164.
- Question of his concern in the sale of Dunkirk considered, 168.
- Negotiates with D'Estrades respecting it, 171.
- Unduly charged with corrupt motives therein, 174.
- Advises the King to keep his promise to suspend the execution of the Act of Uniformity, 189.
- Extent of his support to the Act of Uniformity considered, 189.
- Defence of the King against the complaints of the Nonconformists that he had violated his promise to them in the Declaration from Breda, 191. Examined, 192.
- Assents to the exercise of the King's dispensing power, 196. ; which he subsequently opposes, 197. Reason of this change of conduct, 197.
- Communication with Bennet regarding the Declaration of Indulgence, 204.
- Opposes the Declaration of Indulgence, 211. By which he incurs the King's displeasure, 212.
- His power declines, and some of his friends fall from him, 214.
- Charged by Lord Bristol with high treason, 222. Failure of the charge, 225. Its consequences injurious, 226.
- Dutch war conducted directly to the fall of, 228.
- Instructions of, to Downing regarding the negotiations between the Dutch and Portuguese, 236.
- Pacific policy of, 242.

Hyde, Edward (Earl of Clarendon).

Concludes a treaty of peace with Holland, 246. ; outline of, 246.

Disapproves of Holmes's aggressions on the Dutch, 261.

Opinion of, on the treachery and aggression of the Dutch, 266.

Draws up a narrative to be laid before the House preparatory to the Dutch war, 271. Outline of, 271.

Examination of the charge against, of having encouraged fictitious plots, to obtain a plea for severity towards Dissenters, 277.

Five-Mile Act, part taken in by, uncertain, 293.

Principles of, with respect to toleration, 302.

Illness of, 313.

Conference of the King and his ministers in chamber of, regarding the appropriation clause, 313. Inaccuracy in his report of, 314. Opposes the principle of, 314. Impolitic conduct during the discussion of, 315. Injurious consequences of his violence, 316.

Opposes the bill for the inspection and audit of public accounts, 318.

Opposes the bill for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, 324. 326.

Opposes the appointment of Ashley to be treasurer of prize money, 331.

Negotiates with the envoys of Louis regarding peace with the Dutch, 344.

Instructions of, regarding the Swedish treaty, 356.

Procures for Sandwich the appointment of ambassador at Madrid, 360.

Persuades Albemarle to accept the divided command of the fleet, 361.

The division of the fleet not imputable to, 364.

Instructions of, to Lord St. Albans regarding the negotiations with Louis, 370.

Becomes unpopular ; causes of this, 385.

Disliked by the King ; causes of this, 390.

Enemies of, at court, 392.

Accused of furthering the marriage of Miss Stewart, 393. ; which he denies, 394.

Enmity of Lady Castlemaine to, 394. Justifies to the King his behaviour towards her, 395.

Unsupported by any party, 397.

Hostility of the Commons towards, 399.

Accused of having advised the King to dispense with parliament, and govern by the army ; explanation of this, 402.

Loses his wife, 406.

Recommended by the King to surrender the Great Seal, 408.

Interview with the King regarding, 408.

Deprived of the Great Seal, 414. Because of his insupportable temper, 416.

Hyde, Edward (Earl of Clarendon).

- Denounced by the King, 420.
- Proceedings against, in the Commons, 421.
- Charges against, 424. ; debated, 426.
- Impeachment of, for high treason, 429. ; demurred to by the Lords, 429.
- Advised to quit the kingdom, 434. Reasons of his refusal 435.
- Writes to the King to induce him to sanction his departure, 435.
- Withdraws to France, 438.
- Leaves a written address in vindication of his conduct, 439. Outline of this document. 439. Its effect, 442. Burned by the hangman, 433. Examined, 447.
- Bill for banishing, 443. Harshness of this proceeding, 444.
- Arrives at Calais, 470.
- Kindness of the French government, 470. Quickly changed to harshness, 471.
- Removes to Rouen, where he arrives hurt and ill, 471.
- Returns to Calais broken down by fatigue and sickness, 473.
- Commanded to leave Calais, 473. Reply to this mandate, 473.
- Change in Louis's conduct towards, 475.
- Journeys to Rouen, and thence towards Bourbon, 475.
- Attacked by rioters at Evreux, 475.
- Arrives at Bourbon, where he remains several weeks, 477.
- Journeys toward Avignon by way of Lyons, 477.
- Settles at Montpellier, where he is treated with kindness, 478.
- Literary occupations, 478.
- Removes to Moulins, 481.
- Letter to the Duchess of York on her change of faith, 481.
- Permitted to enjoy the society of his children, 485.
- Affecting appeal to Charles for leave to return to his native land, 486.
- Literary occupations at Moulins, 486.
- Returns to Rouen, 487. Where, after pathetic but fruitless entreaties for leave to die at home among his children, he expires, 488.
- Interred in Westminster Abbey, 489.
- Will, 489.
- View of society and public events after his dismissal, 491.
- State of liberty under his administration, 499.
- Imputation against, of receiving a bribe for the liberation of Moyer, 500. *note*.
- Advises the issue of a proclamation against coffee-houses, 505.
- Character of, as a minister, 518.
- Character of, as a Judge, 526.
- Private character, 529.
- Pecuniary affairs, 537.
- View of his writings, 544.

- Hyde, Henry* (father to Lord Clarendon), notice of, i. 2. His death, 12.
 Notice of, iii. 1. *note*.
Hyde, Henry, Viscount Cornbury, notice of, iii. 238. *note*.
Hyde, Sir Nicholas (uncle to Lord Clarendon), notice of, i. 6. and iii. 1. *note*.
Hyde, Sir Robert, jurors fined by, for not returning a verdict according to his direction, ii. 502. Conduct of, on the trial of Twyn, 511.; and of Keach, 512.
 Notice of, iii. 340. *note*.
Hull, Charles, refused admittance into, i. 186.

I.

- Impeachment of Clarendon*, conference between the Houses on, ii. 429. Commendable conduct of the Lords in this affair, and its good result, 433. *note*.
Imprisonment, illegal, charge of, against Clarendon, ii. 453.; examined, 454.
Incarnation, denial of the doctrine of, made capital, ii. 297.
"Incident," the, its ill effect upon the King's cause, i. 130.
Indemnity, Bill of, introduced, ii. 12. Exceptions from, 21.
Indemnity, Act of, dislike of the Royalists to, ii. 113. Confirmed, 114.
Independents, tolerant in theory, but intolerant in practice, ii. 297.
 Persecute the Catholics, 297.; and the Quakers, 298.
Ingoldsby takes Lambert near Daventry, i. 506.
Inns of Court, masque given by, i. 18.
Inspiration, denial of, of any book of the Scriptures, made capital, ii. 297.
Ireland, affairs of, in 1661, ii. 94. Iniquitous conduct towards, in passing the bills prohibiting the importation of cattle and meat from, 322. Subscriptions from, for the sufferers by the great fire, turned into a weapon against, 326.
 ——— *Bills of Settlement for*, Clarendon accused of corruption in obtaining, ii. 463. His defence, 463.; examined, 465.
Irish Cattle Bill passed, ii. 322. Injustice of, 323. Discussions on, 324. Passed, 327. Iniquity of, 327.
Irish Rebellion, its ill effect on the King's cause, i. 130.

J.

- Jermyn*, Hyde's letter to, i. 282.
 Negotiates the preliminaries of a secret treaty with Louis, ii. 370.
 Instructions of Clarendon to, 372. Coldness of, towards Clarendon, 470.
 Notice of, iii. 5. *note*.
Jones, Sir Theophilus, notice of, iii. 91. *note*.
Joyce, Cornet, carries off the King to the army, i. 310.
Jurors, coercion of, ii. 502. and *note*.

K.

- Keach*, a printer, legal persecution of, ii. 512.
Keeling, Chief Justice, jurors fined by, for not returning a verdict according to his direction, ii. 502. *note*. His conduct brought before Parliament, 503.
Killigrew, profligate conduct of, with regard to Anne Hyde, ii. 74.
 " *Killing no Murder*," question of the authorship of, considered, i. 423. *note*.
Knighthood, composition for, arbitrary exaction of, i. 40.

L.

- Lambert, General*, defeats Sir George Booth at Nantwich, i. 463.
 Negotiations for a restoration by means of, 470. Dissolves the Parliament by military force, and restores the council of officers, 475. Marches against Monk, by whom he is duped, 476. Dismissed from his command, 478. Escapes from the Tower, 506. His troops refusing to charge, is taken by Ingoldsby, and recommitted, 506.
 Excepted from the Bill of Indemnity, ii. 21. Trial of, 117. Imprisoned in Guernsey, 124.
Langport, defeat of Goring at, i. 263.
Laud, Archbishop, his cruelty to Prynne, i. 19. His interview with Hyde, 25. His character, 26. Presents a report on the state of the province of Canterbury to Charles, 47. Remarks on this document, 48. Solicited by Hyde to avert the dissolution of the Short Parliament, 61. His vindictiveness, 65. Execution, 240.
Lauderdale, Earl of, urges the Prince to repair to Scotland, i. 328. His arrogance, 329. Arrives at the Hague, with an invitation to Charles from the Scottish council, 333.
 Disagrees with Clarendon on Scottish affairs, ii. 86.
Lawson brings his fleet up the river, and declares for Parliament, i. 477.
 Killed at the fight of Southwold Bay, ii. 333.
 Notice of, iii. 85. *note*.
Le Fonde, bearer of a mandate to Clarendon to quit France, 471.
Leicester, Lord, character of, i. 217.
Lenthall resumes his seat as Speaker, i. 454.
Leopard, seizure of, by the Dutch, ii. 252.
Lesley defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar, i. 359.
L'Estrange, Roger, appointed licenser of the press, ii. 509.
Letters and Papers, see Contents to Vol. III.
Lexington, Lord, protests against the bill for banishing Clarendon, ii. 444.
Libel punished with unprecedented severity, i. 43.

- Lisle, Sir George*, ungrateful conduct of Charles II. to the sister of, ii. 390.
- Littleton, Lord-Keeper*, joins the King at York, i. 187. Character of, 216.
- Littleton, Sir Thomas*, advice of, on the mode of impeaching Clarendon, ii. 422.
- Liturgy*, ordered to be used in Scotland, i. 49. Refused by the people, 49. Recalled, 51. Revision of, solicited by the Presbyterians, ii. 46. Revision of, ii. 183.
- Loan*, from the city, attempt to force, and four aldermen imprisoned for refusal, i. 65.
- Loan, general*, demanded by Charles I., i. 35.
- Lockhart, Lord*, character of, iii. 484. *note*.
- London*, efforts to intrench, i. 223. Tumultuous assemblages in, 223.
- Long, Robert*, cause of his hatred to Hyde, i. 379. Plots against Hyde, 380.; in which he is foiled, 384. Further machinations, 385.
- Notice of, iii. 56. *note*.
- Long Island* granted to the Duke of York, ii. 259. Colonised by the Dutch; and subsequently captured for the Duke, 259.
- Loudon, Earl of*, solicits Hyde to prevail on the King to comply with the Parliament, i. 247.
- Louis XIV.*, language of, about lowering the flag, contrasted with his subsequent advice to the Dutch, ii. 163. and *note*. Insincerity of, towards the young Prince of Orange, ii. 241. Fosters jealousies between the English and Dutch, 244. Offers to mediate between them, 256. Endeavours to avert the war, 269. Arrogant conduct of, to Hollis, 341. Artful policy of, 342. Offers mediation to England; terms of, 343. Disgusted with the obstinacy of the Dutch, 345. Change of policy on the death of Philip; causes of this, 345. Declares war against England, 349. Sends a fleet to the aid of the Dutch, 367. Opens a secret negotiation with Charles, 369. Concludes peace at Breda, 381. Cruelty of, to Clarendon, 471. Brutal mandate of, and Clarendon's reply, 473. Change in conduct of, towards Clarendon, and its cause, 474.

M.

- Macclesfield, Earl of* (See *Gerard, Lord*).
- Major-Generals*, rapacity of, i. 452.
- Maleverer* forced to compound for knighthood, i. 85.
- Manchester, Earl of*, chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, i. 507. Speaker of the Lords after the Restoration, in the Lord Chancellor's absence, ii. 1. Lord Chamberlain, 5.
- Manning*, treachery of, i. 408. Shot, 409.

- Mardyke* taken by the French, i. 430.
- Markham, Sir George*, fined exorbitantly for saying he would horse-whip Lord Darcy, i. 63.
- Marlborough, Earl of*, killed at the fight off Southwold Bay, ii. 333.
- Marston Moor*, battle of, i. 238.
- Martin*, conversations with, impel Hyde to attach himself to Charles, i. 108.
- Masque* given by the Inns of Court, description of, i. 20.
- Massonet*, notice of, iii. 62. *note*.
- Mathew, Sir Toby*, notice of, iii. 54. *note*.
- May, Thomas*, notice of, i. 14.
- May, Baptist*, embraces the King's knees on the dismissal of Clarendon, ii. 414.
- Maynard, John*, his courtly reply to William III., i. 18. *note*.
Advises the examination of witnesses previously to impeachment, ii. 423.
- Maynard, Thomas*, notice of, iii. 112. *note*.
- Medina de las Torres, Duke of*, character of, iii. 436. *note*.
- Melleray, Marshal*, dishonesty of, i. 374.
- Message from the King to treat for peace*, i. 200. *note*.
- Middleton, Earl of*, failure of his enterprise in Scotland, i. 400.
Indecorous conduct of, in Scotland, ii. 88. Measures of, 89.
Attempts to introduce episcopacy, 90.
- Mildmay, Sir Henry*, dragged through the streets on a hurdle, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, ii. 116.
- Militia*, discussions concerning, at Uxbridge, i. 247. Question of, considered, 149. King's answer respecting, 169. Ordinance for, passed by both Houses, 173.
- Minister of State*, duties of, in the seventeenth century, ii. 513.
- Molina, Conde de*, character of, iii. 437. *note*.
- Monk, George* (Duke of Albemarle), Charles is advised to treat with, secretly, i. 447. Negotiations concerning, for the restoration of Charles II., 470. Cautious proceedings of, 474. Declares for the Parliament, and remodels his army, 475. Marches toward England, 476. Negotiates, to gain time, 476. Night interview with Price, 477. Canes an officer at York, 479. Cautious proceeding to cover his designs, 480. Marches into London, 481. Dissimulation of, 488. Addresses the Common Council in Finsbury Fields, 490. Restores the excluded members, 491. Appointed Commander-in-chief, 492. Duplicity of, 494. Private interview of, with Grenville, whom he sends with a message to the King, 497. His conduct on receiving the King's letters, 507. Resists the attempt to impose conditions, 509. The first to communicate tidings of the invitation to the King, 515.
- Created Duke of Albemarle, ii. 5. Infamous conduct of, to Argyle, 93. Takes command of the fleet in conjunction with

- Prince Rupert, 360. Engages the Dutch fleet off the North Foreland, 361. Defeats De Ruyter, 365.
 Notice of, iii. 106. *note*.
- Monmouth, Duke of*, Charles's treatment of, ii. 216. Pardoned by Charles, for the murder of a watchman, 492.
- Monopolies* attacked by Sir John Colepepper, i. 40. *note*.
- Manson, Lord*, dragged through the streets on a hurdle, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, ii. 116.
- Montague, Abbé*, carries the Duke of Gloucester to the abbey of Pontoise, to facilitate his conversion to popery, i. 394.
- Montague, Edward*, notice of, iii. 85. *note*. (See *Earl of Sandwich*.)
- Montpelier*, literary labours of Clarendon during his residence at, ii. 478.
- Montrose* tenders his service to Charles at the Hague, i. 333. Interview with Hyde, 333.
- Mordaunt, John* (Viscount), tried and acquitted, i. 438. Jealousies occasioned by, 486.
 Notice of, iii. 99. *note*.
- Mordaunt, Lady*, notice of, iii. 96. *note*.
- Morland, Sir Samuel*, discloses Willis's treachery to the King, i. 459. and *note*.
- Morley, Dr.*, notice of, i. 16. Employed by Hyde in allaying the intemperate zeal of the clergy, i. 504. Confers with the Presbyterian clergy, 505.
- Morley and Hazlerig* take possession of Portsmouth for the Parliament, i. 477.
- Morrice, Sir William*, appointed Secretary of State, ii. 5. Character of, 8.
 Notice of, iii. 103. *note*.
- Moulins*, literary labours of Clarendon at, ii. 486.
- Moyer* obtains his release from prison by purchase, ii. 500. and *note*.
- Munster, Bishop of*, enters into a treaty with England, ii. 338. Invades the Dutch territory, 340. Concludes peace with them, 341.

N.

- Nantwich*, defeat of Sir George Booth and the Royalists near, i. 463.
- Nasby, battle of*, Cromwell's concise narration of, i. 266. *note*.
- Naval supremacy*, dispute concerning, ii. 159.
- Navy*, reduction of, advised by Sir W. Coventry, and opposed by the Duke of York, resolved on, ii. 378.
- Naylor*, atrocious proceedings in Parliament regarding, ii. 298. Barbareous punishment of, 301.
- Nets*, seizure of French fishermen's, dispute concerning, ii. 157.
- Neuberg, the Duke of*, undertakes to negotiate for Charles II. with the court of Spain, i. 411.

- New Amsterdam*, built by the Dutch, ii. 259. Captured for the Duke of York, and called New York, 259.
- Newburn*, defeat of the King's troops at, i. 66.
- Newbury*, second battle of, i. 240.
- Newcastle, Lord*, character of, i. 217. Leaves the King in disgust, 239.
- Newport, Sir Richard*, sale of a peerage to, i. 205.
- Newport, treaty of*, i. 322.
- Nicholas, Secretary*, character of, i. 217.
Appointed principal Secretary of State, ii. 5. Character of, 8.
Retires from office, 205.
Notice of, iii. 19. *note*.
- Nicholas, Colonel Richard*, captures Long Island for the Duke of York, ii. 259. Takes New Amsterdam, which he calls New York, 259.
- Non-conformist Clergy*, zeal of, during the plague, ii. 292. Persecuted under the Five-Mile Act, 294.
- Non-conformists*, hostility to, encouraged by Venner's insurrection, ii. 67. Persecution of, 187.
- North Foreland*, sea-fight with the Dutch off, ii. 360. Causes of the loss of the English, 363.
- Northumberland, Earl of*, negotiations for replacing in the office of Lord High Admiral, i. 213.
- Nottingham*, royal standard raised at, i. 197.
- Noy, William*, notice of, i. 20.

O.

- Offices, sale of*, prevalence of the practice, ii. 219 *note*. Deemed legal in Clarendon's day, 455. Corrupt sale of, denied by him, 455.
- Ogniate, Mark*, character of, iii. 437. *note*.
- Oliver, John*, notice of, i. 4.
- O'Neil, Owen*, Charles's ambassadors request the Spanish King's interference with, i. 347.
- Opdam, Admiral*, defeat of, off Southwold Bay, ii. 333.
- Orange, Prince of*, Charles interests himself for, ii. 241. Insincerity of Louis regarding, 241. Conduct recommended by Clarendon regarding, 243.
- Orange, Princess of*, letter from Charles, requesting pecuniary assistance from, i. 446.
Anger of, at the marriage of Anne Hyde, ii. 80.
- Ormond*, the King's duplicity apparent from his letter to, i. 323. Routed at Rathmines, 339. Commences his friendship with Hyde, 365. His privations, 375. Repairs secretly to Eng-

- land, 433. Withdraws from England, and joins Charles at Brussels, by a circuitous route, 436.
- Ormond* appointed Lord Steward of the Household, ii. 5. Character of, 7. Proposal of, to Hyde, to give up the Chancellorship, and become ostensible Prime Minister, 83. Ineffectually opposes the bill prohibiting the importation of cattle from Ireland, 325.
- Ossory, Lord*, challenges Buckingham for expressions in the debate on the bill for prohibiting the importation of Irish provisions, ii. 328. *note*.
- Ostend*, Hyde carried into, by privateers, i. 317. His treatment there, 318.
- Owen* represents to Clarendon the dangerous character of the Presbyterians, ii. 286.
- Oxford University* contributes plate to the King, i. 204.

P.

- Palmer* sent to the Tower for protesting against the remonstrance, i. 135.
- Parliament*,
- Power of dissolving rashly employed by Charles I., i. 35.; who dismisses his second with indignity, 35.
- Third of Charles I. opened with threats, 36.; presents the Petition of Right, 37.; hastily dissolved, for refusing to vote tonnage and poundage for more than a year, 38.
- Its privileges grossly violated in the persons of Eliot, Holles, and Valentine, 38.
- None summoned for eleven years, 39.
- Opened April 13, 1640, by the King in person, 54. Praise-worthy conduct of this Parliament, 55. Attempt of the Lords to interfere with, 56. Dissolved on May 5. by the King in person, 59.
- Change in its hours, 62.
- Violation of its privileges in the persons of Sir John Hotham, Mr. Bellasis, and Mr. Crew, 65.
- *Long*, causes for summoning, i. 68. Boldness of its proceedings, 70. Beneficial measures, 71. Proceedings against popish recusants, 75. Intolerance, 75. Negotiation to raise money, 77. Proceedings against the Judges, 78. Passes a bill rendering itself perpetual, 106. Questions relative to the Church, 109. Encroachments on the privileges of the Lords, 120. Right of petition violated, 121. Tyrannical conduct, 123.; its probable causes, 126. Declines in popularity, 129.; causes of this, 129. Frames the Remonstrance, 132. Remonstrance presented to the King at Hampton Court, 135. Authority as-

- sumed by Parliament, i. 148. Prepares for armed resistance, 153. Petition the King for the control of the armed force, 155. Presses the bill for the exclusion of the bishops, 158. Message from, to the King at Theobalds, 170. Declaration of, presented to the King at Newmarket, 173. The nineteen propositions from, 188. Raises forces, 197. Replies to the King's message, 201. After the battle of Edgehill, opens a treaty of peace, 209. Further negotiations, 213. War resumed, 218. Discussions respecting negotiations for peace, 222. Passes an ordinance for a new Great Seal, 230. Negotiates with the Scotch, 230. Adopts the Covenant, 231. Further negotiations with the King, 235. Passes the self-denying ordinance, 240. Negotiations for peace, 241. Treaty of Uxbridge, 244. Failure of the negotiations, 249. Declines treating with the King, 273. Proposes hard terms, which are rejected, 294. Obtains possession of the King's person, 308. Decline of its power, and ascendancy of the army, 309. Gains a temporary independence by the absence of the army, 320. Send commissioners to Newport, to open a treaty with the King, 322. Presbyterian members excluded by force, 324. Commons vote themselves supreme, 325. Forcibly dissolved by Cromwell, 398. Members of, invited by the army to resume their functions, 454. Dissolved with military force, by Lambert, 475. Declared for by Monk, 475. ; and by Lawson, 477. Dismisses Lambert from his command, 478. ; and invites Monk to London, 479. Requires Monk to chastise the citizens, 489. Ordered by him to determine a time for its own dissolution, 490. Rescinds the anti-monarchical engagement, 492. Letter from the King to, 500.
- Parliament, Barebones'*, convened by Cromwell, i. 399. Dissolved, 399.
- Summoned by Cromwell, 401. ; but not being subservient, dissolved by him in anger, 402. Again summoned, and hastily dissolved, 431.
- Richard Cromwell attempts to render more manageable, i. 448. Composition of, 449. Proceedings in, 450. Dissolved, 453.
- *Convention*, meets, i. 507. Discussions in, preparatory to the restoration, 509.
- Passes an act legalising its proceedings, ii. 10. Discusses the Bill of Indemnity, 12. Settles the revenue, 22. Abolishes feudal tenures, wardships, and purveyance, 25. Renders the Excise permanent, 26. Discussion on the Church question, 47. Discusses a bill embodying the Declaration, 54. Dissolved, 58.
- *New*, opened by the King on May 8. 1661, ii. 104. Its character and proceedings, 105. Passes the Corporation Act, 107. Repeals the act for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords, 108. Confirms the acts of the Convention Parliament, 113. Vindictive feeling exhibited by, 115. Pro-

- ceedings against Popery, ii. 212. Petitions the King in favour of the woollen manufacture, 229. Hears complaints of the English trading Companies against the Dutch, 253. Its acts for the furtherance of commerce and manufactures, 230. *note*. Votes a large supply for the Dutch war, 274. Repeals the Triennial Act, 290. Passes the Conventicle Act, 291.; and the Five-Mile Act, 293. Discussions on the appropriation of the Supplies, 311.; and on the bill for the audit of public accounts, 316. Passes the bill prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, 322. Discussions on the bill prohibiting the importation of Irish provisions, 323.; which is passed, 327. Grants supplies for the Dutch war, 348. Hostile to Clarendon; causes of this, 399. Meets, and is immediately prorogued, 404. Meets on October 10.; speech of the King to, 418. Thanks the King for the dismissal of Clarendon, 419. Proceedings in the Commons against Clarendon, 421. Impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords, 429. Discussions concerning, 429. Difference between the Houses on, 433. Its serious aspect, 437. Orders Clarendon's vindication to be burned by the hangman, 443. Passes a harsh and unjust bill for the banishment of Clarendon, 443. Resists the attempt of the King to re-establish Popery and arbitrary power, 497.
- Parliament, Oxford*, proceedings at, i. 234.
- Parliament, Scotch*, its proceedings, i. 51.
- Parties*, state of, in 1658, i. 434. In 1660, 503.
- Paston, Sir Robert*, moves the supply in the House of Commons for the Dutch war, ii. 274.
- Patents*, ludicrous, i. 22.
- Pembroke, Philip, Earl of*, notice of, i. 17.
- Penn and Venables* take Jamaica, i. 410.
- Notice of, iii. 107. *note*.
- Penruddock* active in the Wiltshire rising, i. 405. Executed, 406.
- Pepys*, his reflections on the exhumation and hanging of the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, on a gallows at Tyburn, ii. 57. Discreditably exaggerates the estimates for the Dutch war, 272. Observations of, on Lord Clarendon's oratory, 536.
- Petition*, right of, violated by the Long Parliament, i. 121.
- Petition of Right* presented, i. 37. Charles's insincerity regarding, 38.
- Plague*, zeal of the Non-conformist clergy during, ii. 292. Ravages of, at Amsterdam, 348. *note*. At London, 348. Lingard's description of, masterly, 348. *note*.
- Political retrospect* of affairs previous to the Parliament of, 1640, i. 34.
- Poll-tax Bill*, proviso for auditing public accounts introduced into, ii. 317. Proceedings and discussions regarding, 317.
- Popham, Admiral*, his imperious message to the Spanish court, i. 349.
- Popish recusants*, proceedings against, i. 73.

- Portland, Earl of*, killed at the fight off Southwold Bay, ii. 333.
- Portsmouth* surrendered to the Parliament by Goring, i. 199.
- Precedence*, struggle for, between the ambassadors of France and Spain, ii. 139.
- Presbyterian clergy* conferred with by Morley; their views, i. 505. Interview of, with Charles II. ii., 44. Negotiate for an adjustment of ecclesiastical claims, 45. Intolerance of, 49.
- Presbyterianism* declared the state religion, i. 492.
- Presbyterians*, charge against Clarendon of encouraging fictitious plots to furnish a plea for severity towards, considered, ii. 277. Considered to be dangerous, 285. Suffer the penalty of their own intolerance, 286. Persecutions by, 296.
- Press*, restrictions on the, ii. 508.
- Price*, night interview of, with Monk, i. 476.
- Pride, Colonel*, seizes the Presbyterian members, i. 324.
- Primrose, Sir Archibald*, character of, iii. 132. *note*.
- Privateers*, piratical conduct of, ii. 330.
- Prize money*, gross abuse with regard to the adjudication of, ii. 330. Charles II. wishes to appropriate, 311.
- Proclamations*, Charles I. attempts to govern by, i. 41. Instances of their vexations, 42.
- No gross exercise of power by means of, during the administration of Clarendon, ii. 504. Against coffee-houses advised by him, 505.; and opposed by Sir William Coventry, 507.; issued in 1675, but quickly recalled, 507.
- Property, settlement of*, at the Restoration, difficulties in, ii. 33.
- Propositions, the nineteen*, voted, i. 189. Answered by Falkland and Colepepper, 190. Their consequences, 196.
- Prynne*, severe and unjust punishment inflicted on, for publishing the *Histriomastix*, i. 19.
- Public accounts*, proviso for the inspection and audit of, ii. 317. Opposed by the court, 317.; and by Clarendon, 318. Discussions regarding, 319. Suffered to drop, 320. Illusory commission granted for, 321. Bill for the inspection and audit of, passed, 321. Misapplications brought to light by, 322.
- Purveyance*, abolition of, ii. 25.

Q.

- Quakers* persecuted by the Independents, ii. 298.
- Queen, Henrietta Maria*, machinations of, to draw the Prince under her control, i. 280. More solicitous for her husband's kingly power than for his personal security, 295. Differences between and her son, 338. Employs Hyde's mediation, 339. Her enmity to Hyde, and its causes, 366. Farewell interview with him, 390. Attempts to convert the Duke of Gloucester to Popery, 394.; her cruelty to him, 395.
- Queen Catherine* (See *Catherine of Braganza*).

R.

- Ralph*, remarks of, relative to the insurrection of 1683, 282. *note*.
Admits that appearances were against the loyalty of the Presbyterians, 285.
- Regicides*, proclamation for the surrender of, considered, ii. 13. Excepted from the Bill of Indemnity, 15. Trial of, 55. Their conduct at the scaffold, 56.
- Reigns*, commencement of, when dated from, ii. 121. *note*.
- Religion*, discussion concerning, at Uxbridge, i. 245.
Unity of, Clarendon's opinion on, ii. 303. *note*.
- Remonstrance*, the, framed by the Commons, i. 132. Presented to the King, 135. Answer to it drawn up by Hyde, 136.
- Restoration*, review of the events immediately preceding, i. 482. Impediments to, 496.
- Revenue*, arbitrary modes of raising, adopted by Charles I., i. 39. Charles I.'s difficulties in raising, 53. Unconstitutional means of raising, resorted to, 65.
- Revenue of Charles II.*, settlement of, ii. 22. Reconsidered, 27. *note*.
- Reynolds* made Bishop of Norwich, ii. 53.
- Richard II.* adduced as a warning to Charles II.; propriety of this, ii. 410.
- Richmond, Duke of*, character of, i. 216. Marries Miss Stewart, ii. 393.
- Ripon, Treaty of*, i. 67.
- Robartes, Lord*, supports the Declaration of Indulgence, ii. 204. 210.
- Robinson*, a parliamentary spy upon Monk, i. 480.
- Rochester, Earl of*, appointed to command the rising in the North, i. 405. On the failure of the enterprize, escapes in disguise and returns to Cologne, 406.
- Rockingham Forest*, fines inflicted on increasing the boundaries of, i. 40.
- Roman Catholics*, Charles II. inclines to favour, ii. 198. Deprived of indulgence by their own dissensions, 199. Conduct of Charles in their favour, 201. Persecuted by the Independents, 297.
- Rouen*, death of Clarendon at, ii. 488.
- Royal African Company*, nature of the trade of, ii. 260. Aggressions on the Dutch for the benefit of, 260.
- Royalists*, violence of the, immediately previous to the Restoration, i. 503.
- Rupert, Prince*, notice of, i. 205. *note*. Routs a body of the parliamentary cavalry, 206. Takes Bristol, 219. Loses Bristol, and is commanded to quit the kingdom, 267. Quarrels with Colepepper at the Hague, 327. Takes the command of the fleet at Helvoetsluys, quells its mutiny, and proceeds to Kinsale, 330. Arrives off the Spanish coast, 349. Loses his squadrons by storms, 373.

Rupert, Prince, takes command of a squadron against the Dutch, ii. 267. Appointed, in conjunction with Albemarle, to the command of the fleet, 360. Sails with a detachment in search of the French Admiral, 361. Arrives to the assistance of Albemarle off the North Foreland, 362. Causes of his delay, 362. and note.
Rutherford, Lord, notice of, iii. 194. note.

S.

Salisbury, judges and sheriff seized at, by Wagstaff and the Royalists, i. 405.

Salisbury, William Cecil, Earl of, notice of, iii. 105. note.

Sampson, Vice-Admiral, killed at the fight off Southwold Bay, ii. 333.

Sandeford cruelly punished by the Long Parliament, i. 125.

Sandwich, Earl of, receives the fortress of Tangiers from the Portuguese, ii. 142.; and a moiety of the Princess's dowry, 143. Ingratitude of, to Clarendon, 215. Takes command of the fleet, 267.; and sweeps the Channel, 268. Appointed to the command of the fleet, 336. Unsuccessful attempt to capture the Dutch East India and Smyrna fleets at Bergen, 352. Appointed ambassador to Madrid, 360.

Saville, Lord, character of, i. 217.

Savoy Conference for the settlement of religion, negotiations at, ii. 178. Unsatisfactory termination of, 183.

Schelling burnt by the English under Holmes, ii. 364.

Scotch invasion, i. 232.

Scotland, troubles in, i. 48. Second war with, 66. Its conclusion disgraceful to Charles I., 67.

Affairs of, in 1660, ii. 85. English garrisons withdrawn from, 87. Attempt to restore episcopacy in, 88.

Scottish Assembly meets at Glasgow; its proceedings, i. 51. Votes the abolition of episcopacy, 52.

Scott a parliamentary spy upon Monk, i. 480.

Sealed Knot, i. 402.

Self-denying Ordinance passed, i. 240.

Settlement, Act of, for Ireland, a measure of extensive injustice, ii. 102.

Sealy, character and proceedings of, i. 413. His claims to the authorship of "Killing no Murder" considered, 423. note. Specimen of his style, 424. note. Dies in the Tower, 425.

Seymour, Lord, character of, i. 217.

Seymour, Edward, ambitious and unprincipled, ii. 421. Opens the proceedings in the Commons against Clarendon, 421. Falsehoods of, on discussing the impeachment of Clarendon, ii. 426. Prefers the impeachment at the bar of the House of Lords, 429. Strafford's impeachment put into his hands by mistake, 430. note.

- Sharp* (*Archbishop*) suggests the mode of introducing episcopacy into Scotland, ii. 90. Obtains the see of St. Andrews, 92.
- Sheldon, Gilbert* (*Archbishop*), notice of, i. 16.
- Rigour of the Act of Uniformity chiefly attributable to, ii. 190. *note*. Agrees that the clergy should waive their right of self-taxation, 308. Concern of, in the marriage of Miss Stewart, 393.
- Ship-money*, sheriffs of London prosecuted for remissness in levying, i. 65. Declared illegal, 78.
- Shirley*, his ungenerous conduct to Prynne, i. 23. *note*.
- Sidney, Algernon*, repairs to Holland, ii. 291.
- Six Judges*, proceedings against, i. 78.
- Slaves*, British subjects sold as, in the West Indies, i. 451. Horrible cruelties to, 452. *note*.
- Slingsby, Sir Henry*, tried and executed, i. 438.
- Solemn League and Covenant* burned by the common hangman, ii. 105.
- Somerset, Duke of* (See *Hertford, Marquis of*).
- Southampton* advises the King to treat for peace, i. 199. Character of, 216.
- Appointed treasurer, ii. 5. Character of, 8. Superintends the discreditable exaggeration of the estimates for the Dutch war, 272. Conduct of, regarding the appointment of Lord Ashley treasurer of prize money, 333. Death and character of, 397. An uncompromising opponent of the Five-Mile Act, 515.
- Southwold Bay*, defeat of the Dutch off, ii. 333.
- Spain*, state of, on the arrival of Hyde and Cottington, i. 341.
- Spain, King of*, gives audience to Hyde and Cottington, i. 346.
- Spragge, Sir Edward*, advises the division of the fleet, ii. 364. Brave resistance of, to De Ruyter, 381.
- Standard, Royal*, raised at Nottingham, i. 197.
- Standing army*, a consequence of Venner's insurrection, ii. 65. Foundation of, 66.
- Star-Chamber*, specimens of its arbitrary acts, i. 43. Abolished, 71. Modified revival of, suggested by a committee of the House of Lords, ii. 112.
- State papers* drawn up for the King by Hyde, i. 177. Opinions of Warwick and Hobbes concerning, 181. Conferred a lasting benefit on the cause of public freedom, 183.
- Stewart, Miss*, marriage of, a cause of the King's dislike of Clarendon, ii. 393.
- St. Ghislain*, surrender of, to Spain, procured by Charles, i. 429.
- St. John, Oliver*, his remark on the dissolution of the short Parliament, i. 59. Receives the thanks of the House, 79. His remarks on procedure by attainder condemned, 102. Impeachment of, by the Royalist members, advised by Hyde, 450.
- Strafford* Charles's best auxiliary, i. 46. Proceedings against, 93.

- Case of*, considered, 95. Bedford's death, and the discovery of Goring's plot, injurious to, 103.
- Strafford*, language of the impeachment of, closely followed in that of Clarendon, ii. 430. A bad precedent, 431.
- Strode*, his remark regarding the disbanding of the Scottish army, i. 77.
- Subsidies*, the last money granted in form of, ii. 217. *note*.
- Suffolk, Duke of* (De la Pole), the Lords refused to commit, in absence of proof, ii. 432. and *note*.
- Supplies, Appropriation of*, early instances of, ii. 310. *note*. Principle recognised, 311. Meeting of Ministers in Clarendon's chamber, concerning, 313.; and inaccurate account of, by him, 314.
- Sweden*, treaty concluded with, ii. 337. Negotiations for a treaty with, 356.; terminated by Danish perfidy, 358.
- Swinsfen, Mr.*, reasons of, for opposing the bill for banishing Clarendon, ii. 444. *note*.
- Syndercombe* conspires to assassinate Cromwell, i. 422. Death of, 423.

T.

- Tables, The*, a political association in Scotland, opposed to the Liturgy, i. 49.
- Talbot, Father*, negotiates between Charles and Sexby, and tries to induce the former to become a Roman Catholic, i. 416.
- Talbot, Sir Gilbert*, sent envoy to the court of Denmark, ii. 337. Concludes a disgraceful compact with the Danish king for the betrayal of the Dutch merchant fleet at Bergen, 351. Failure of the enterprise, 363.
- Notice of, iii. 367. *note*.
- Talbot, Mr.*, profligate conduct of, with regard to Anne Hyde, ii. 74.
- Tangiers* delivered up to the English, ii. 142.
- Taxation*, subject first exempt from unconstitutional, during the administration of Clarendon, ii. 499.
- Taylor, Jeremy*, tolerant spirit of, ii. 302. and *note*.
- Teddiman, Sir Thomas*, fails in his attempt to capture the Dutch merchant fleet at Bergen, ii. 352.
- Temple, Sir William*, accuses Downing of corruption, with regard to the Bona Esperanza and Bona Adventura, ii. 248.
- Thames* entered by the Dutch, ii. 379. Vessels sunk in, to obstruct, 380.
- "*Three Estates*," Hyde's opinion thereon, and question of the, considered, i. 190.
- Thurloe*, impeachment of, by the Royalist members, advised by Hyde, i. 450.

- Titus, Colonel*, supposed the author of "Killing no Murder," i. 423.
Tonnage and Poundage levied in defiance of Parliament, i. 41.
Toop conspires to assassinate Cromwell, i. 422. Betrays his associates, 423.
Trading Companies complain to Parliament of the aggressions of the Dutch, ii. 253. Proceedings therein, 254.
Treaties, Clarendon charged with betrayal of the country in, ii. 466. His defence examined, 467.
Trelawney committed to prison, and expelled the House, by the Long Parliament, for words spoken in private discourse, i. 124.
Triennial Bill passed, i. 72.
 Repealed, ii. 290.
Trinity, denial of the doctrine of, made capital, ii. 297.
Truro, Hopton capitulates to Fairfax at, i. 278.
Tuke, Sir Samuel, notice of, iii. 92. *note*.
Twyn executed for printing a seditious book, ii. 509.

U

- Uniformity, Act of*, outline of, ii. 184. Intolerance of the Commons regarding, 185. Harsh proceedings under, 187. Clarendon's conduct on, 190. Sheldon chief cause of the rigour of, 190. *note*. Probable cause of the King's easy acceptance of, 201.
Usher's Model proposed as a ground-work by the Presbyterian divines, outline of, ii. 45.
Utie, Doctor, tyrannically disqualified from holding any benefice by the Long Parliament, i. 124.
Uxbridge, negotiations for a treaty at, i. 244. Their failure, 249.

V.

- Valentine*, privilege of Parliament violated in the person of, i. 38.
Van Benning, character of, iii. 431. *note*.
Vane, Sir Henry (the Elder), bears a message from the King to the Commons to hasten the supplies, i. 56. His conduct on the debate, 58. Accused of treachery in this affair, 59. *note*.
Vane, Sir Henry (the Younger), excepted from the Bill of Indemnity, ii. 21. Trial of, 117. Able defence of, 121. Undaunted bearing at the scaffold, 123. His character, 123, 124. *note*.
Vatteville endeavours to thwart the marriage of Charles with the Princess Catherine, ii. 128. Character of, 128. *note*. Endeavours to excite a popular outcry against the Portuguese match, 139. Contest of, with D'Estrades for precedence, 140. Character of, iii. 121. *note*.
Faudois protected by Cromwell, i. 409.

- Vaughan, John* (afterwards Chief Justice of Common Pleas), advice of, on the mode of impeaching Clarendon, ii. 422.
Vaughan, Lord, falsehood of, in discussing the impeachment of Clarendon, ii. 428.
Venner's Insurrection, ii. 62. Consequences of, 65.
Vindication, Lord Clarendon's, presented to the Lords, ii. 439. Outline of, 439. Exasperates his opponents, 442. Burned by the hangman, 443. Examined, 447.
Vintners' Company, Clarendon charged with accepting bribes from, ii. 459.

W.

- Wagstaff* heads the rising in Wiltshire, i. 405. Fails in the enterprise, and escapes, 406.
Walker, Sir Edward, notice of, iii. 39. *note*.
Waller, Edmund, notice of, i. 15. His plot, 219. Pretends to dread Clarendon's influence with the King, ii. 427.
Wallingford House, arbitrary measures of the council of officers at, i. 475.
Wallop, Robert, dragged through the streets on a hurdle, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, ii. 116.
Walsh, Sir Robert, quarrels with Colepepper at the Hague, i. 328.
Wardships, abolition of, ii. 25.
Warwick, Sir Philip, his opinion of Hyde's State Papers, i. 181. Discreditably exaggerates the estimates for the Dutch war, ii. 272.
Wenman, Sir Francis, notice of, i. 17.
Whitelocke, Bulstrode, notice of, i. 18. Associated with Hyde in the management of the Inns of Courts' Masque, 20. Receives the thanks of the House, 79. His interview with the King at Oxford, 241. *note*. Remarkable conversation of, with Fleetwood, 468.
Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, fined by the Star Chamber, i. 42.
Willis, Sir Richard, a spy of Cromwell's, i. 435. His treachery disclosed by Morland, 459. General rising betrayed by, 461.
Wiltshire, failure of the rising in, i. 405. Some of the party executed, the rest sold in Barbadoes for slaves, 406.
Woodstock, quo warranto against the corporation of, ii. 463.
Worcester, Edward Somerset, Marquis of, notice of, iii. 108. *note*.
Worcester House (Clarendon's residence), ministerial conferences at, previous to the Dutch war, ii. 272. Clarendon's inaccuracy regarding, 274. *note*.
Wright, Sir Benjamin, interests himself at Madrid for Hyde and Cottington, i. 343.
Wyeh, Sir Peter, character of, i. 217.

Y.

- York, Duke of*, enters the French service, and commences his military career under Turenne, i. 368. Projected marriage with Mademoiselle de Longueville, 370. Serves with credit under Turenne, 418. Refuses the appointment of Captain-General in the army of Italy, and repairs to Charles at Bruges, 419. Appointed Captain-General of the British forces in Spain, 429. Narrowly escapes after the defeat at Dunkirk, 439.
- Created Lord High Admiral, ii. 5. Marriage of, with Anne Hyde, 72. Conduct towards the libellers of his wife, 77. Laughs at Hyde for not accepting the French king's bribe, 132. Motives of, for promoting the Dutch war, 258. Sends Colonel Nicholas to take possession of New Amsterdam, 259.; and Sir Robert Holmes to capture Cabo Corço, 261. Uses insulting language to the Dutch ambassador, 265. Assumes the command of the fleet, 267. Opposes the bill prohibiting the importation of cattle from Ireland, 324. Takes command of the fleet, 329. Defeats the Dutch off Southwold Bay, 333. Neglects to follow up the victory, 334.; cause of this, 334. Prohibited from further service, 335. Opposes the reduction of the navy, 378. Sent by the King to recommend Clarendon to give up the Great Seal, 408. Intercedes for him, 413. The King fruitlessly endeavours to induce, to vote against Clarendon, 420. Ill of the smallpox, 437. Commanded by the King to advise Clarendon to quit the kingdom, 438.
- York, Duchess of*, Clarendon's letter to, on her change of faith, ii. 481. Dies a Roman Catholic, 485. Names of her children, and dates of their births and deaths, 485. *note*.

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